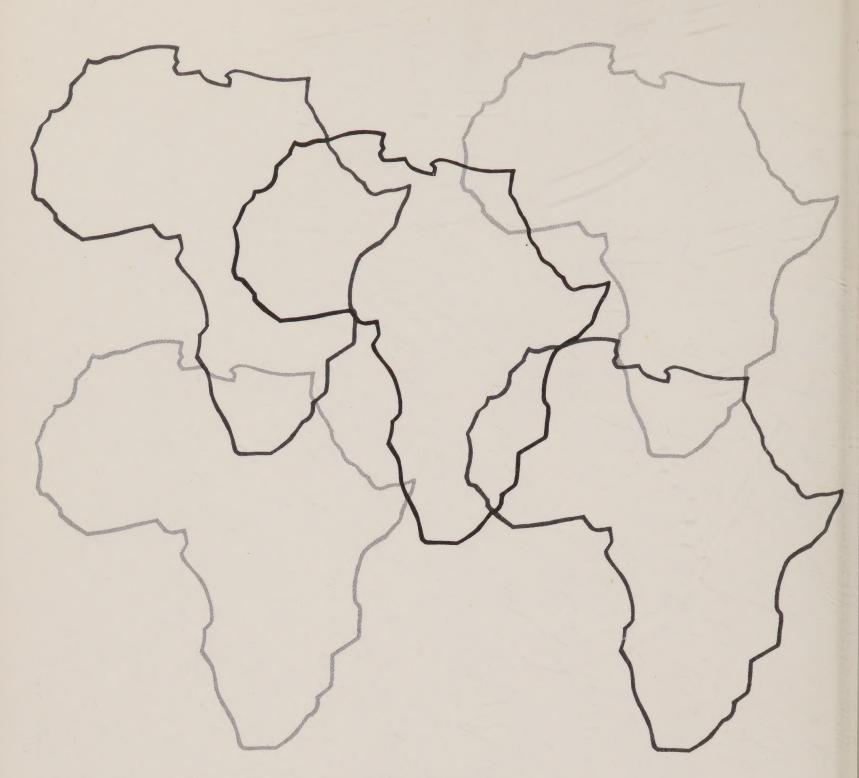
...and some fell on good ground

VOLUME 7 N° 3 1971



Who reads introductions? We hope through this edition of RISK that you will catch a little of the life of some of the independent churches of Africa...

THE INDEPENDENT CHURCHES ARE THE CLOSEST WE HAVE COME IN AFRICA TO MAKING CHRISTIANITY OUR OWN THE BISHOP HERE IS ALSO THE LOCAL CARPENTER TO YOU IT MAY SEEM A QUEER MIXTURE TO US IT'S RIGHT SOME STATISTICS SUGGEST THAT BY 2000 AD THERE WILL BE 350 MILLION CHRISTIANS IN AFRICA THE STREETS OF AFRICA ARE FAST BECOMING THEIR WITNESS POINTS POLITICS IS A MAJOR FACTOR IN CHURCH

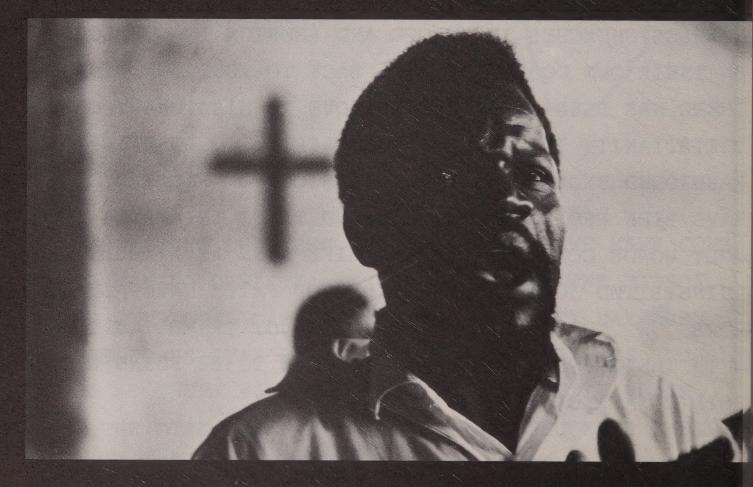
GOD UNDERSTANDS IT BEYOND THE SCHISMS INDEPENDENCY ONE CAN SENSE THE EMERGENCE OF A GENUINELY INDIGENOUS RENEWAL OF CHRISTIANITY THE LARGEST IS THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST ON EARTH THROUGH THE PROPHET SIMON KIMBANGU IN ZAIRE WHICH HAS AROUND THREE MILLION ADHERENTS THE NOISE ENTHUSIASM AND LOVE IS REFRESHING TO THE EUROPEAN CHRISTIAN NOW THEY CAN SAY HALLELUJAH IN THE RHYTHM OF THE OLDER CHURCHES ON THE CONTINENT HAVE FAILED AFRICA IN PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS THE SLUMS OF AFRICA HAVE FOUND A RELIGIOUS IDENTITY THE IMPERIALISM OF THE MISSIONARY SOCIETIES HAS COME TO AN END HE IS A LUO FROM WESTERN KENYA HE IS A XHOSA IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AN IBO FROM NIGERIA THE CHURCHES OF INDEPENDENCY HAVE BECOME NEW KINSHIP GROUPS CONTROLLING ECONOMIC LIFE AS WELL AS ELITIST MISSIONARY EDUCATION WAS A SOCIAL RELATIONS SUBVERSION OF OUR TRIBAL COMMUNAL SOLIDARITY WELCOME TO OUR HUTS DEAR GOD COME IN SCONCENTRATION ON MISSIONS ENABLES CHURCHES IN EUROPE AND AMERICA TO OVERLOOK INJUSTICE BACK TO YOUR OWN LAND ON THEIR OWN DOOR-STEP THERE HAS BEEN A FAILURE OF LOVE IN MISSIONARY CHURCHES CHRISTIANITY IN AFRICA CANNOT AFFORD TO BE STIFF OLD FASHIONED UNCHANGING DIVISIONS OF WESTERN CHRISTENDOM HAVE BEEN PROPAGATED A THOUSAND TIMES IN AFRICA DRUMS HOLY WORDS COMMUNAL SHARING LIFE SEEN AS A WHOLE AND UNINHIBITED JOYOUS EXPRESSIONS OF FAITH HAVE ALWAYS BEEN THEY JUMP AND RUN WITH JOY TREMBLING THE EARTH OURS WITH THEIR FEET THERE IS LIFE TO BE FOUND UPON THE SOIL OF AFRICA

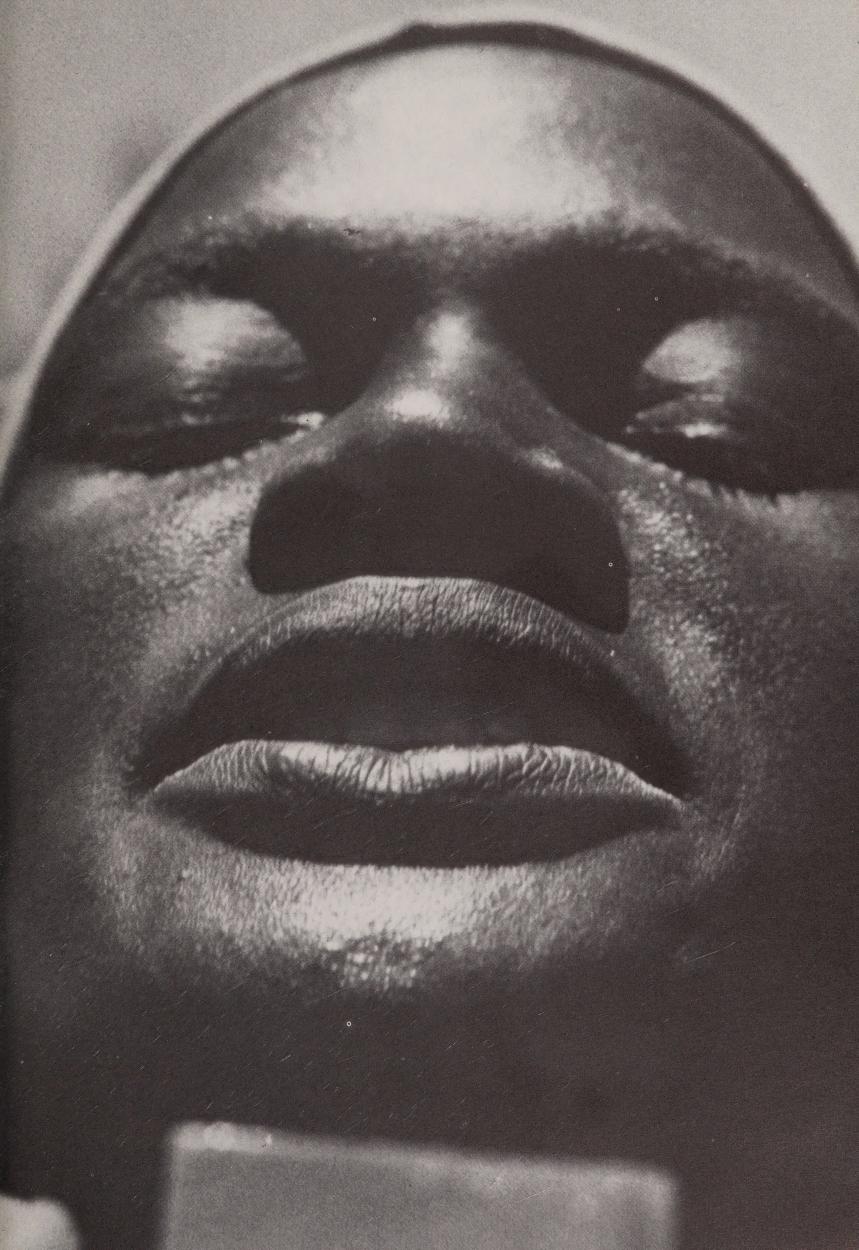
victor lamont - guest editor.

1

...and some fell on good ground





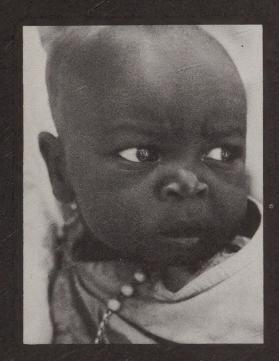




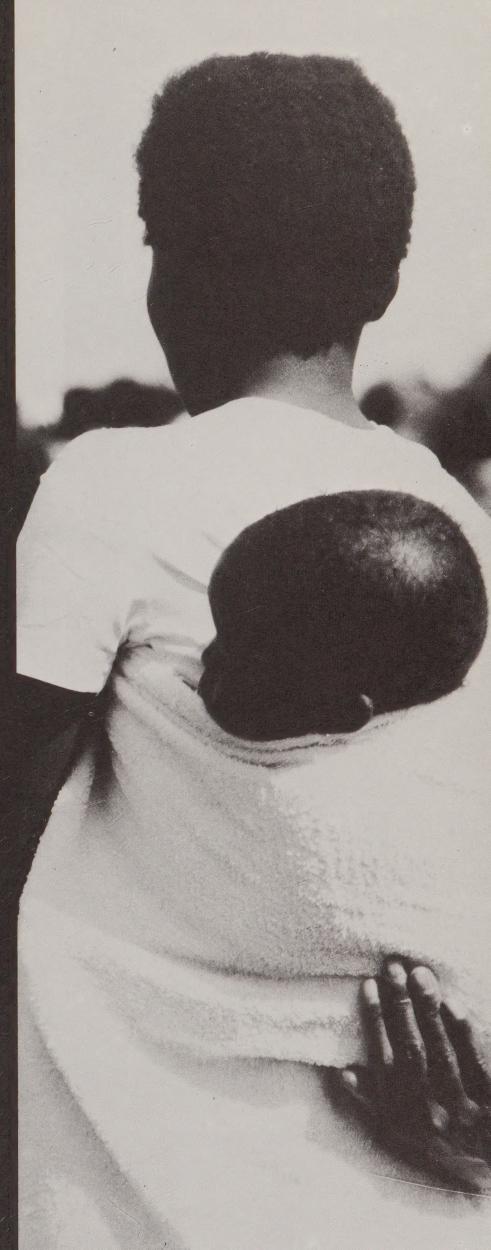










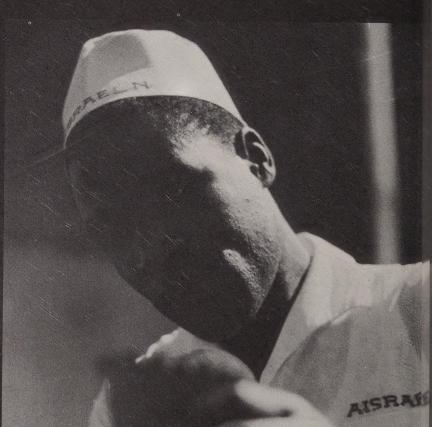




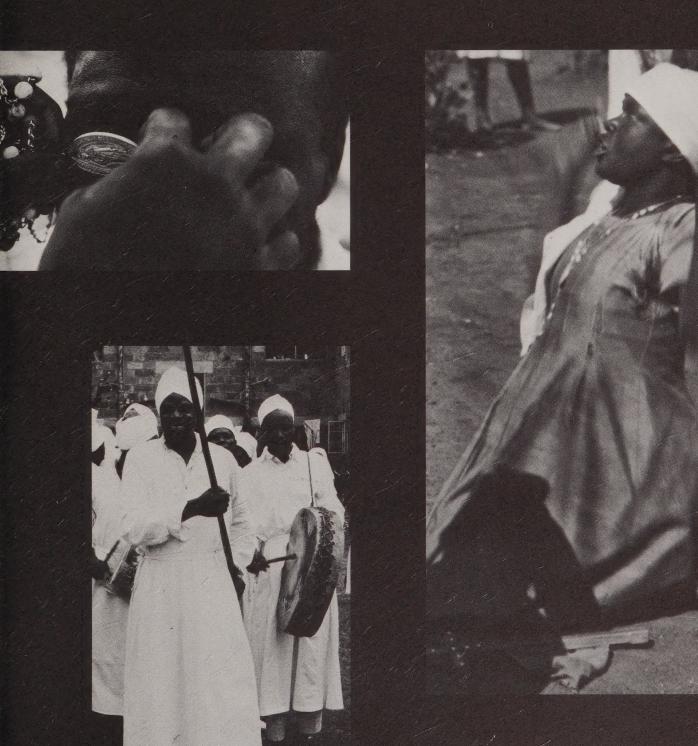


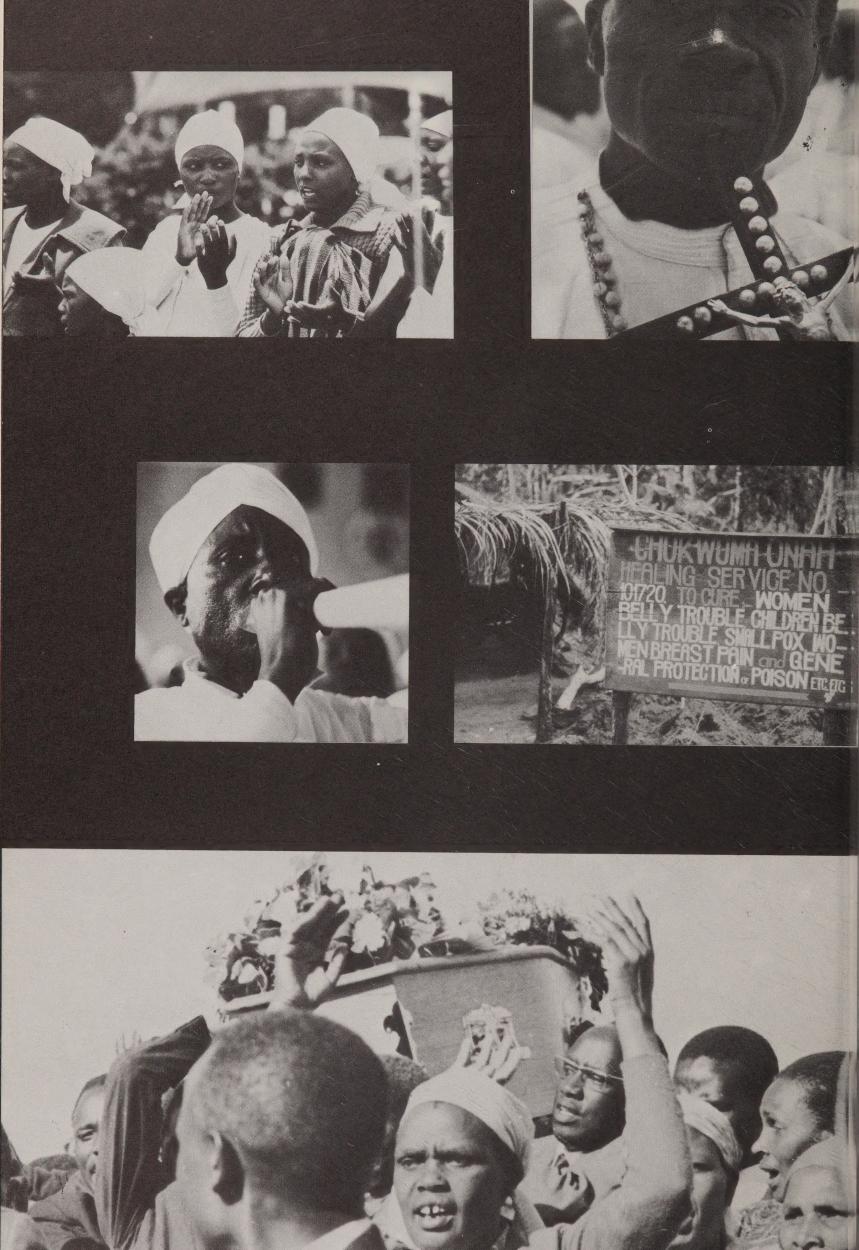
















•

What this issue is all about

For those who like their information solid and compact, without the frills, here is a short survey article describing this extraordinary religious movement in Africa.



AFRICAN INDEPENDENT CHURCHES (AICs)

Since the beginning of widespread Christian missionary activity in Africa around the year 1800, ecclesiastical schisms and related religious movements have grown in number each decade since the first in 1819. By 1970 they have reached a total of well over 5,000 distinct movements, among 300 different tribes, in thirty-three African nations and colonies, and also in Madagascar, with an estimated total of 10,000,000 nominal adherents (total community). The annual increase in 1970 was over 180 new bodies, with at least 500,000 new adherents, with seven hitherto uninvolved tribes participating. This vast range of movements has created a mushrooming literature, numbering 2,200 published articles, books and reports in 30 languages by 1971. Terminology is extremely varied : earlier unfavourable adjectives in use for the movement, such as anti-Christian, syncretistic, nativistic, neo-pagan, sectarian, dissident, magico-religious, etc., are largely giving way to more strictly descriptive terms such as separatist, prophetic, ethiopian, zionist, spiritual, and the like. In ecumenical circles the accepted term is the AICM (African Independent Churches Movement), though in fact the vast majority of these bodies do not know of each others' existence and are in no sense a conscious or organised movement. Among participants in contact with the ecumenical movement, a preference is growing for a term stressing the local initiative the movement represents, namely the African Indigenous Churches.

These 5,300 bodies are spread across the whole of Africa, south of the Sahara, but with particularly large concentrations in the Republic of South Africa (3,000), Nigeria (800), Congo-Kinshasa (600), Ghana (200) and Kenya (180). The first noticeable surge of the movement took place in the year of the Berlin Conference for the partitioning of

Africa (1885). Since then, the movement has expanded at a remarkably even rate, involving on average three new tribes each subsequent year. Only about 10 percent of all bodies formed since the start of the movement are now defunct ; most of these have rejoined their parent historical church or mission, or have been suppressed, or have otherwise petered out. The average strength of a body is only 1,400 adherents, but many are over 50,000 in size. The largest is the Church of Jesus Christ on Earth through the Prophet Simon Kimbangu, in Congo-Kinshasa, which has an estimated 500,000 adult members, or a total community of around three million adherents.

Most bodies have separated from historical (mission) churches, Catholic and Protestant, as a result of a range of immediate causes which have striking parallels from one side of the continent to the other. It is generally agreed that the major underlying cause common to all movements is the clash of three cultures (traditional, secular European, and missionary), and the resulting tension and disruption in the life of African tribes. An important factor evident in the majority of cases has been the availability of translations of the Scriptures in 420 African vernaculars (half the total number of languages spoken on the continent). These have served as an independent standard of reference against which missionaries and missions could be judged. Alleged discrepancies between mission practice and biblical liberty (as for example over polygamy) have thus caused widespread disaffection, ending in numerous secessions.

In most cases bodies have attempted to christianize African traditional customs, and this has inevitably led to charges of syncretism being levelled against them. An ecumenical assessment of their theological character would have to recognise that, although in many respects they fall short of recognised Christian orthodoxy, yet their almost universal claim to confess the historical Jesus as Lord and Saviour establishes them as genuine Christian churches. Many have in fact attempted to join the major ecumenical bodies holding this confession, including the All Africa Conference of Churches, national Christian councils, the United Bible Societies, and the World Council of Churches. By 1971, two African Independent Churches have joined the latter body – the Kimbanguist Church (see above) as a full member; and the Eglise Protestante Africaine (Cameroun) as an associate member; many more applications are being considered.

What appears to be happening all over the continent, therefore, is that the African Independent Church Movement, working quite spontaneously and in the main independently, is engaged in a massive attempt to create a synthesis between the apostolic *kerygma* (preaching) and authentic African spirituality, based on biblical insights derived from the vernacular Scriptures. Beyond the tragic spectacle of schism after schism one can sense the emergence of a genuinely indigenous renewal of Christianity in terms that can be understood by African societies.

From many points of view the African Independent Church Movement is an unprecedented phenomenon, unique in the history of Christian missions: the immense number of schisms and adherents involved (onetenth of the entire Christian community in Africa), its remarkably uniform spread across one-third of Africa's tribes in the last hundred years, and the paradoxical co-existence for the first time in history of four elements – strong animistic traditional societies, mass movements into the historical churches, formidable missionary assaults on traditional religion and society, and the wide-spread provision of vernacular Scriptures which were interpreted as vindicating much of the traditional way of life. The AICM can therefore be placed on a level with other great schismatic controversies in history - the encounter of the postapostolic church with the Gnostic movement in the second century, the Great Schism in AD 1054, and the fragmentation of Christendom in Europe during the 16th century Reformation. As such, it represents one of the most remarkable contemporary phenomena of Christianity.



CHILDREN OF JAKOBO William B. Anderson



The grave of Jakobo Buluku, with his widow standing in the middle. The words on the cross simply give the date of his death: 15/3/1938 and then the words "Founder Jakobo Buluku".

(A History of the Holy Spirit Church of East Africa)

Jakobo Buluku was a shop-keeper at Mbale, a small town in western Kenya. He had done well in business, a field of work which most Africans despised in 1927. When Jakobo heard that a sensational preacher had come to near-by Mbihi, Jakobo went to hear him – although somewhat sceptically. Daniel Mundia was the preacher, and more than a preacher – a prophet. He had insight into people's lives, into the sins they hid, and he revealed these openly. When Jakobo Buluku heard Mundia's preaching, and saw people under conviction confessing to murder, adultery, sorcery, he fell down and said, "Truly this is the Word of God".

Daniel Mundia was a prophet who had been anointed only a few weeks before. He had received the Holy Spirit when he had been taken to the Kaimosi forest by a Quaker missionary, Arthur Chilson. Chilson had stressed to Daniel and a group of young men with him the need to really confess Jesus Christ as Lord. "If you confess with your lips that Jesus is Lord... you will be saved" (Romans 10:9). The young men in the forest had interpreted "confessing" to be more than owning Jesus as Lord; it was open confession of sins. Each boy had confessed and had begun making restitution. Chilson then had asked the boys to pray for the Holy Spirit. The Spirit had fallen on them, overwhelming them; they had started praying in a joyous babble of strange tongues.

Soon afterwards, all members of the Society of Friends (Quakers) had gathered at Kaimosi headquarters for the Yearly Meeting - a great annual convention. Many had publicly confessed their sins, and there had been outbursts of praying in tongues at the meeting. Daniel Mundia, having been baptized in the fire of the Kaimosi forest retreat and the

Kaimosi Yearly Meeting, went preaching to Mbihi and beyond. The Spirit revealed to him the vanity of wearing beads, so repentant women tore off their strands, denouncing them as worldly finery. For four months the message of the Holy Spirit was preached by the prophet and the newly-inspired converts.

Early in January, 1928, an earthquake rocked the country. Terrified people, formerly unpersuaded by the prophet's preaching, rushed to the Vihiga Mission church before the End should come. Vihiga Mission was the centre for Mbale and Mbihi. The January 6 monthly meeting at Vihiga was crowded and tense with expectancy. Confessions bubbled out from the people. Daniel Akello, leading the meeting, called on the crowd to wave their hands and shout to "drive Satan beyond Nabwenge" - a mythical river far away. A great revival was engulfing the entire Friends' Church.

Satan returns

Five weeks later, when the echoes of the shouts had died down, Satan began his long journey back from Nabwenge. The African leadership of the Friends had decided that the movement of the Holy Spirit was too dangerous. On February 18, 1928, all Christians were called to a church meeting and told that open confession of sins must stop. Most Friends bowed to the leaders' demands. Jakobo Buluku refused; to reject open confession was to him tantamount to rejecting the Holy Spirit who had brought the spirit of confession. A few stood with him. Buluku's business partners took over his businesses, labelling him a mad man. All who followed Buluku were labelled mad as well. After Buluku's stand on February 18, he was the undisputed leader and prophet of the movement. Daniel Mundia had fallen ill at the beginning of the year, and he died soon afterwards. Buluku was the "Moses" of a small group, not numbering more than fifty people, estranged from the Friends, in an uncharted spiritual wilderness.

The Friends had reasons to reject Jakobo and the prophets. The Christian faith had only been with them twenty years. Christianity had come with an expanding network of little schools and clinics. Building a school and attending medical treatment was Christian discipleship as much as reading the Bible and praying. In fact, Christians did not distinguish education or medicine from the news of the Saviour, all of which were part of the "Light" which missionaries had brought. Buluku and the Holy Spirit people had a "new message", a message of spiritual change, a message unrelated to hospital or school. To the Friends it sounded like heresy or undue fanaticism. They had other objections as well. Many Friends felt uneasy about parents confessing shameful sins in front of their children. The old orthodoxies, although not more than twenty years old, combined to oppose the threatened spiritual flood.

Led by the Spirit

To refuse to deny the Spirit was one thing; it was another thing to know where the Spirit was leading. This difficulty faced Jakobo and his followers after they stood out against the Friends' leaders. Early in 1930, several of the Holy Spirit leaders along with Buluku retired to their homes at Bukoyani, near Mbihi, to devote three years to prayer, praising God, studying their Bibles and seeking new guidelines. A number had emerged as prophets, and during this three-year prayer meeting, they received many revelations, usually in dreams. All new revelations were shared with the group by the prophet, but no new direction was accepted until it had been confirmed by other dreams and by Scripture as well. A pattern gradually emerged. Through revelation, the Holy Spirit people began worshipping on the Sabbath



The song-leader in the centre has two rings of bottle-caps to keep rythm, but she also can clap her hands. Others beat drums, pieces of iron, and old lorry gears.

The site at Vihiga, just across from the Mission. At this spot, the great meeting in 1928 sent the Devil to Nabwenge. Later, in 1933, Jakobo Buluku and many others were beaten when they interrupted the Friends convention.

(Saturday) and working on Sunday. New forms of greetings were adopted. They rejected all medicine. They adopted Bible-style dress, men wearing turbans and long flowing robes. After many revelations and confirmation, drums were accepted in worship. The Holy Spirit people joined a nearby Pentecostal mission in 1932, but dropped out at the end of the year. The Holy Spirit had revealed to Buluku that they should be led by no white man. By 1933, they were in fact totally independent.

Near the end of this period of prayer, the Holy Spirit began to drive them out to witness. By this time, doubt had grown among the Friends whether the Holy Spirit followers possessed the Spirit at all. "Scuttlebutt" (rumours) said that the three-year prayer meeting was nothing but a three-year period of wife-swapping. This scuttlebutt was widely believed. Nothing could have been further from the truth. During the three years, the Holy Spirit leaders had practised total sexual abstinence. Unaware of this, many Friends believed the worst, and took these strange people to be fanatical hypocrites.

Jakobo Buluku led his followers one day to a large convention of the Friends at Vihiga. It was five years since they had together driven Satan beyond Nabwenge. Jakobo demanded the attention of people to his message. The convention chairman, a Friends missionary, was willing to put Jakobo on the list of preachers, but Buluku declared he had seen the Holy Spirit descending. He would not, Buluku emphasized, share his words with messages from uncircumcised lips. For an hour the congregation boiled in the sun, while Jakobo and the Friends challenged one another. When Buluku denounced the missionary chairman as a



The grave is a place for special remembrance services, especially at the anniversary of Buluku's death. The grave is decorated, and all the people gather.

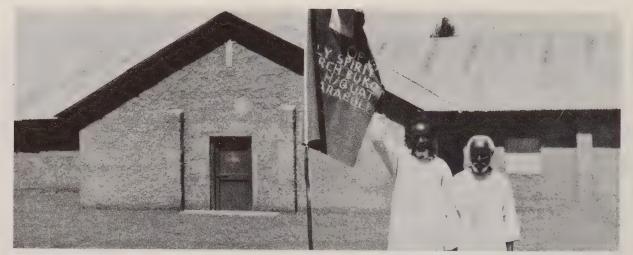
The present leader, Archbishop Japhet Zale with his wife standing in front of his home at Bukoyani.

hypocrite, the meeting boiled over. Sticks and chairs crashed onto the heads of Buluku and his followers.

This was the beginning of battle. Holy Spirit people kept challenging Friends at their open-air meetings, and now and then violence erupted. Buluku ordered his people to call out "Hallelujah!" and "Jesus be praised!" whenever struck. The situation was ironical, for Friends have a long history as a pacifist community. But feelings were running high, and the Friends were determined not to lose their new spiritual heritage, just as the Spirit people were determined to challenge it root and branch. In 1936, a particularly vicious waylaying of the Holy Spirit leaders at Buluku's home injured Jakobo severely, and he never recovered. He hung on, a shadow of himself, for more than a year. In March, 1938, he died. The Holy Spirit people gathered to bury their prophet and martyr, and uttered a bitter curse on the Friends. Later that year the hostile parties made peace; beatings and cursings became a thing of the past.

New Directions

Zaphet Zale inherited the leadership from the dying Buluku, and he turned decidedly outward. The world had to know about the gift of the Holy Spirit. A small party led by Zale visited Luo country. The Nilotic Luo people were traditional enemies, people whose language and ways were quite different from Zale and Buluku, who were of the Bantu Luhya tribe. The message crossed the language and culture line, and a number of Luo congregations sprang up. Another small team toured Kikuyu country, two hundred miles east of Bukoyani, and extended the Holy Spirit Church there.



Two men in front of the Bukoyani Church with the Bukoyani flag. At the beginning of worship, all windows and doors are open, but they are closed after confession of sins.

The Holy Spirit Church has forged spiritual alliances with many churches, particularly with other independent Holy Spirit churches. All important meetings draw representatives of all Spirit churches in western Kenya. Old hatreds healed, for the Salvation Army, Pentecostalists and even Friends join with Holy Spirit people for funerals and great occasions. In 1970, the Holy Spirit Church sent its first candidate for the trained ministry to St. Paul's United Theological College in Kenya. The church has now patched up relations completely with the Friends, and the Friends have agreed to train lower-level Holy Spirit leaders at their Bible School.

A certain flexibility has developed. In towns, the Holy Spirit people now worship on Sunday. Distinctive clothing is worn only at worship. Going to a doctor or using medicine is no longer counted as loss of faith. Is the old fire going out? Perhaps. Or perhaps it is making a necessary adjustment to the new day. The worship that the Holy Spirit Church has developed has beauty and meaning. Each service of worship opens with every man and woman confessing his sins aloud facing an open window. When confession is through, the worshipper calls out, "Kitulidzwe, kitulidzwe, kitulidzwe" -"be cleansed, be cleansed, be cleansed". With evil driven out, windows and doors are shut. The congregation sings, beating drums, banging irons and old lorry gears – the song-leader leading out from one song to the next. They then pray in the Spirit; their hearts and tongues are set loose for a short time, until the leader brings them to order. Then one by one people speak about how the living God has delivered them that week from sickness, wickedness and death. Some have words of warning. Others preach a short word. Each person greets the congregation before speaking, and shouts "Hallelujah!", to which the congregation replies with a loud "Hallelujah! !!" And there is singing, singing, singing. Not with the voice or heart alone – but with the whole body jumping, swaying, hands clapping, or quietly sitting on the bench, as the Spirit moves.



Before a funeral, one person takes down what each member of the family says about the person who died. In the funeral service, these are read, and the words in the book are kept as a memorial to the dead brother.

The Holy Spirit people, true to Jakobo Buluku and all he stood for, insist that repentance means public confession of sins and restitution. They believe the supreme experience is being filled with the Spirit, having His healing, praising God in His ecstasy-giving Spirit. They claim no prophets today. The spirit of prophecy is alive only in a few women, in revealing hymns to them in dreams. In these hymns, the Holy Spirit people commonly call themselves "the children of Buluku". Some are carried away by love for the prophet and say that Buluku's blood mingles with that of Jesus to cleanse the sinner and take him to heaven. More sober souls, the more orthodox, remember Buluku as the witness to the Holy Spirit's work. The children of Buluku remember what their prophet said : "Since the Holy Spirit has been given in this way, and we have received him, all nations will receive him. This is the only Word to take one to heaven." The true children of Jakobo are those who witness fearlessly to the Spirit's power.

HIGH PRIEST DAVID DAVID ZAKAYO KIVULI David Aoko



Biography of an African independent church founder

David Zakayo Kivuli who as high priest founded the African Israel Church Nineveh in 1942 was born in 1896 in Gimarakwa in Nyangori in north Nyanza, now Kakamega District. He went to school at Nyangori Mission which belongs to the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada in western Kenya.

At about the age of fourteen, Kivuli enrolled at Nyangori School for baptism and classes. He became a close friend of the missionaries at the mission, and they became his guardians and paid his school fees. In turn, he did odd jobs on the compound to get pocket money. Kivuli spent six years at school at Nyangori and then decided to go to work. Unfortunately, his education was too low to get him a good job. He became employed as a labourer on one of the European settler farms and got a monthly wage of eight shillings, the highest salary a labourer could earn at that time. On this farm, he became the nyapara, overseer, because everyone liked him and the peasants decided he was the only person who could take care of them properly.

Kivuli belongs to the Maragoli tribe, a sub-tribe of the Bantu Abaluhya which is the largest ethnic group in Kenya.

Kivuli enjoyed most of the activities which other African children liked – he liked to mock fight, he was strong at wrestling, and other boys feared him. He looked after cattle with other boys, and he liked joining other children in singing. Many times as they sang they would dance in the traditional way. In 1921 Kivuli was married, and had five children, three sons and two daughters. Before his marriage, he had become a Christian. In 1927, the missionaries and church elders at Nyangori agreed that Kivuli should be sent to training school; there he learnt many things, including elementary agriculture. He returned home after two years and became a supervisor of schools in the area. In 1931, he became troubled by stomach illness which affected the liver. One result was that he became convicted as a sinner, and wanted salvation, believing that his illness was a punishment sent by God.

On 6th February 1932, he received full inner conviction that he was a sinner; and after twelve days, on 12th February 1932, he had the experience of receiving the Spirit. This made him temporarily blind for seventeen days. On receiving his sight back, he told his friends that God had asked him not to shave his beard any more. He started to speak in tongues, and people were amazed. Later he started praying for sick and barren women, so that they might have children. Some of his prayers were answered, and the people for whom he prayed were pleased and joined him.

In 1941, a group of his followers went with him up a hill near his home. They spent a long time praying. It was very dry and hot but he prayed and water came out from the rock. The people with him drank the water. The next day another group came up with him. Again, they prayed and from the same rock water came out. Everyone descended believing that Kivuli was a man of God. These people came from nearby villages, although some of them were not his followers but belonged to the Pentecostal Church at Nyangori.

The reason for Kivuli's separation from the Pentecostal Church was that he wanted people to confess their sins openly in public, which was contrary to missionary teaching. He was asked by a missionary friend to leave and start his own church for a period of two years. If he failed, he could go back and become a member at Nyangori Church.

Most of his followers were satisfied with the way he taught concerning public confession of sin. So in Kenya today he has a membership of 60,000 people in his church, the majority being members of two tribes, the Luo and Luhya. These two tribes live adjacently; Kivuli speaks Luo fluently, which has made the Luo people sympathetic to his objectives.

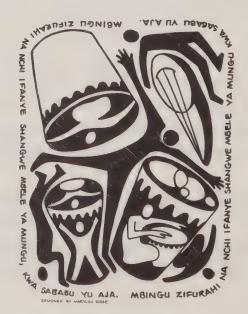
The followers of Kivuli's church are found in every large town in Kenya. There are over a hundred branches in the country. At his home in Gimarakwa, in 1958, he started building a large church called the "ark", meaning a building which will save those who believe and follow him.



His teaching claims that he is helping to build a strong Christian foundation and the Kingdom of God. He welcomes people of every race to join his church and become members. Leadership responsibility, however, is for Africans only.

As the head of the African Israel Church Nineveh, Kivuli stays at his home most of the time, although occasionally he travels to branch churches elsewhere. His home Nineveh is clearly the centre of his whole enterprise; in addition to the "ark", which is still under construction, he has a fish pond and 350 coffee trees as income for the church.

Kivuli has become interested in the wider Christian world and the ecumenical movement. In 1962 he attended the Mindolo consultation on independent churches, a meeting in N. Rhodesia organised by the World Council of Churches. In 1957 his church applied for membership of the Christian Council of Kenya, but was not accepted until 1970, when probationary membership was granted.



WHO'S WHO

OF AFRICAN INDEPENDENT CHURCH LEADERS

edited by David Barrett

Of the hundreds of great African figures who would qualify for inclusion in this Who's Who, we offer here a selection of short biographies, or biographical notes, of 56 pioneers, prophets, priests, preachers and churchmen, whose names are on the lips of countless African Christians today; and for 31 of them, we include photographs.

Significantly, 22 of these 56 leaders are no longer in the Church Militant (here on Earth), but have died and are now part of the Church Triumphant (in Heaven); these we have marked with a cross, thus: †. We say 'significantly', because this demonstrates strikingly the tenacious emotional bond that exists, for Africans, between the living and the dead. They really believe in "the communion of saints". In traditional African religion, the ancestors were prayed to or venerated — what Professor John Mbiti has called 'remembrance of the living dead'. And to the Church in Africa today, these African saints and martyrs are far from being dead and forgotten — they are still vividly alive and present.

Eleven of these 56 leaders are women. Eighteen are from Frenchspeaking Africa, one from Portuguese-speaking Angola. Some of them are linked together, as is shown by "q.v." (for quod vide, 'which see'). Six of them also are not, technically speaking, independent, because they have chosen to remain in, and work inside, the Western (mission-related) churches in Africa. Fifty-one of the 56 receive, or received in their lifetime, no help of any kind in their ministry from the Western Churches in Africa or overseas. But all 56 are key figures in the massive expansion of Christianity across Africa during the twentieth century. ABIODUN, Capt. Dr. Christianah (Mrs. Emmanuel), 88/90 Okesuna Street, Lagos, Nigeria. Nigerian (Yoruba tribe) ; born Lagos, 25 December 1907 ; educated Baptist Academy, Lagos, 1914-24 ; Anglican, communicant St. Paul's Breadfruit Church, Lagos, 18 June 1925 : after vision, founded the Eternal Sacred Order of Cherubim and Seraphim, with late co-founder Moses Orimolade Tunolase ; claims 500,000 adherents throughout Nigeria. Married 29 January 1942. Title now Living Founder and Spiritual Head, Cherubim and Seraphim Society. Writings : *Celestial Vision History Book, Order of Service, First C & S Hymn Book.* A leader widely acclaimed for vision, discipline, and efficacy in prayer.





ADEJOBI, Primate Emmanuel Adeleke, Church of the Lord (Aladura), P.O. Box 377, Mushin, via Lagos, Nigeria. Nigerian (Oshogbo Yoruba tribe); born Oshogbo, 1919; baptised and confirmed Anglican, primary education, Anglican teacher; 1948, married sole wife Olive, now has eight children. 1940, entered Church of the Lord (founded 1930), trained for ministry 1943-47, founded branches Lagos area; 1945, first to be promoted Apostle; 1947, spread Church to Sierra Leone, 1953 to Ghana, 1964 to London (U.K.); 1959 appointed Administrator-General; 1961-63, Glasgow Bible Training Institute, Scotland; after death of founder OSHITELU (q.v.) in 1966, appointed Primate; 1971, founded Aladura Theological Seminary, Lagos, with American Mennonite as first principal. Writings: a score of publications, including The Bible Speaks on the Church of the Lord and a Holy Matrimonial Guide. One of the most able and far-sighted independent leaders in West Africa, evangelical and ecumenical in outlook.

AJUOGA, Rt. Rev. Abednego Matthew, Presiding Bishop, Church of Christ in Africa, Kenyan (Luo tribe); born Kambare, Gem, Siaya, December 1925; C.M.S. Maseno school, Yala secondary school; baptised Anglican 1943; married 15 August 1949, one wife, ten children; railway clerk; 1950 called to ministry, St. Paul's United Theological College, Limuru, 1950-54; 1952, ordained Anglican Church, acting Rural Dean. 1957, left Anglican Church with 16,000 followers to form Church of Christ in Africa (CCA), or JoHera (People of Love); by 1971, 85,000 followers in eight dioceses, with homecraft training centre, commercial school, Bible school; 1963-64, Union Theological Seminary, New York. Writings: African Tuned Hymn Book, and denominational booklets. A widely-travelled leader known on four continents. (For the full story of the CCA, see F.B. Welbourn & B.A. Ogot, A Place to Feel at Home, 1966).





AOKO, Gaudencia, Legio Maria Church, South Nyanza, Kenya. Kenyan (Luo tribe) ; born circa 1943, Roman Catholic ; married young; at age 20 her two infants died mysteriously, allegedly through witchcraft ; immediately had vision commissioning her to preach an African Catholic faith ; huge numbers of Catholics, estimated at 90,000 including many lapsed, converted to Maria Legio Church founded by MARIA (q.v.) ; 1968, misunderstanding with Baba Mtakatifu (Holy Father) Simeon ONDETO (q.v.) ; Aoko attempted to start new church Legio Maria Orthodox Catholic Church ; 1970, reconciled, and living obscure life near Lake Victoria ; 1971, no longer a practising member of any church. A remarkable untrained natural preacher and evangelist, who held thousands spellbound for a short period of three or four years, then lost charismatic appeal. ATCHO Albert, Prophète, Eglise Harriste, Bregbo, B.P. 25, Bingerville, Ivory Coast, Ivoirien (Ebrie tribe); born Bregbo, 1903; no formal education; over five wives, all healed by him; has 16 children; 1928-30, and 1939, military service; animist. 1948, vision of seven angels, called to herbalist healing ministry within the Eglise Harriste; in 1967, Président du Comité Central, or chief layman of the Harris Church. Famous throughout southern Ivory Coast; uses a healing table with symbolic 'telephone to heaven', i.e. two wires, one white and one black, running from the table along the ground; uses hundreds of healing plants as well. Although claiming to continue the work of Prophet HARRIS (q.v.), he has re-introduced, in the eyes of some observers, non-Christian traditional practices.

AWI Jonas, or John Ahui, Son Eminence le Prédicateur -Episcopal, Pape de Petit Bassam ('Pope of Petit Bassam'), Temple Biblique No. 1 de Grand-Lahou, Ivory Coast. Ivoirien (Ebrie tribe); born Petit-Bassam, 1894; no formal education; served in 1914-18 war; married, one wife, ten children; animist, until converted and baptised by Prophet HARRIS (q.v.). 1928, received the succession from Harris in Liberia as the prophet was dying, founded 'Neo-Harrism' or the Eglise Harriste, but has never managed to wield full authority as pope, the church being controlled less hierarchically by laymen in numerous grades (door-keepers, bell-ringers, singers, sacristans, cassock-washers, cassock-ironers, staff-bearers, etc.). A prophet and churchman who has failed in the attempt to place the Bible at the centre of his church, in consequence of which ancestral customs and conflicting religious traditions have dominated church life.

BABA MTAKATIFU, see Simeon ONDETO

- **† BABALOLA, Joseph.** Nigerian (Yoruba tribe, Ekiti); an Anglican churchman employed as a roller-driver, who began preaching in 1930 in Ekiti and sparked off a massive aladura (praying) revival which later crystallised into the Apostolic Church; 1932, imprisoned for a time. He was the archetypical zealous African Christian layman who discovers he has charismatic qualities and finds himself being used to create massive popular faith, only to be prosecuted by a colonial government.
- **† BLOOMER**, Mother Jane, Sierra Leone charismatic leader ; 1917, took over leadership of Martha Davies Confidential Association (founded in Freetown in 1910), a society with 100 Creole members, loosely related to existing churches, with membership restricted to married mothers whose private ('confidential') needs were catered for. A prophetess noted for composing emotional religious 'shouts' in the Krio language, which were also easily translatable into vernaculars for evangelistic purposes ; noted also for philanthropy. Died 1958 ; movement continues as expression of revolt against the suppression of feminine exuberance in older churches.

BOYMANDJA. Central African Republic citizen (Mandja tribe) ; born c 1890 ; Protestant missions arrived around 1925; baptised, then pastor in Baptist Mid-Missions churches. 1956, led secessionist movement at Fort Crampell to form the Comité Baptiste, at first a small independent church, but by 1966 growing rapidly, 7000 adherents claimed, recognised by government; has invited Swiss missionaries from Coopération Evangélique Mondiale to assist. A striking white-bearded leader who has used government support to further his ideal of an African-run church.

- **† BRAIDE**, Garrick. Nigerian (Ijaw tribe); an Anglican who in 1915 led a massive revival in the Anglican Niger Delta Pastorate, in eastern Nigeria; at first, approved by Anglican authorities, but then the movement got out of hand, and split from the Anglican Church to form Christ Army Church; prophet arrested and imprisoned. Church today has split further into several factions.
- **† BRANDER, Samuel J.** One of the earliest separatist leaders in South Africa ; a Sotho ; former member of Anglican Church of the Province of South Africa, and of African Methodist Episcopal Church ; in 1904, founded the Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion. One of many independent leaders who have moved restlessly from one Western denomination to another in search of a Christianity that would be meaningful to their own tribal culture, but who have eventually had to found their own churches in order to find it.

- [†] CHAZA, Mai (Mother). Rhodesian (Shona tribe); married with six children; Methodist. 1953-54, became ill, believed to be mentally deranged; divorced by husband, had physical experience similar to death and resurrection; remarkable recovery; became faith-healer ministering to childless women, the blind, and cripples; led by Spirit into the mountains of Chiwako (called Mt. Sinai) and Hunde, wrote *Mai Chaza Book* and her *Hymnbook*. Vast numbers flocked to her for healing from Rhodesia and five adjacent nations, so special Guta ra Jehova (GRJ Villages of Jehova) were erected around her near Umtali. By 1955, although she attempted to keep movement within the Methodist Church, it had crystallised out into an independent body, the Mai Chaza Church; prophetess became known as Muponesi (Healer, Saviour) and Gwayana (Lamb), both New Testament titles for Christ in Shona; invoked Shona history and traditional religion; 1958, 70,000 adherents. Died in 1960, messianic honours; but church split into four factions each claiming the succession, it passing eventually to MAPAULOS (q.v.).
- [†] CHILEMBWE, John. Nyasaland prophet, associated with independent church known as Providence Industrial Mission (founded 1900); 1915, led a violent uprising against European white settlers in which he was killed; church suppressed for a decade until re-opening permitted in 1926; by 1962, 25,258 members. One of the earliest African nationalists to combine political nationalism with independent church leadership. His story has been told in detail in G. Shepperson and T. Price's Independent African: John Chilembwe and the Origins, Setting and Significance of the Nyasaland Native Rising of 1915 (1958).
- **† DAVIES,** Mrs. Martha. Sierra Leone Creole woman, who in 1910 began one of subsequently fifty famous Confidential Bands restricted to women only, catering for women's emotional and religious needs; died 1917, succeeded by Mother Jane BLOOMER (q.v.).



DIANGIENDA, Joseph, Son Excellence, Chef spirituel (Spiritual Head) and Représentant légal of the EJCSK (Eglise de Jésus-Christ sur la terre par le Prophète Simon Kimbangu), B.P. 7069, Kinshasa I, Congo. Congolese (Kongo tribe, Musingombe clan); born 22 March 1918 as youngest child of Simon KIMBANGU (q.v.); 1921, consecrated and blessed by his father to succeed him when Kimbangu left in autumn 1921 for Lubumbashi prison; six years' primary schooling, four years' secondary (maximum allowed then by Belgian authorities); married 1949, seven surviving children. 1956, united all groups claiming Kimbangu as their prophet into strongly hierarchical EJCSK; 1958, miraculous recovery from allegedly fatal car accident; 1962 onwards, travelled to Europe, Israel, USA ; 1969, guided EJCSK into World Council of Churches as first African independent church to become a full member. Writings: 'EJCSK face aux problèmes politiques, économiques et sociaux', 1962. A highly intelligent and open-minded spiritual leader of great spiritual authority in his church, renowned for efficacy in prayer, healing, counselling and blessing.

DONDA David, Leader and Legal Representative, Eglise de Gamba (Eglise du Christ au Congo, section Gamba-Isiro) (Church of Christ in Congo at Gamba), B.P. 81, Isiro, Congo Kinshasa. Congolese (Mayogo tribe) ; born Saboma near Isiro, circa 1920 ; 1935-40, primary schooling with Heart of Africa Mission (WEC), Nala ; 1942-44, HAM Bible School, Ibambi ; 1943, married Sudah Maria, has ten children ; 1963-65, Bible school in Paris, France. Disagreement between HAM and Mayogo tribe began in 1950 due to having no Mayogo mission station ; 1 April 1960, HAM dismissed all Mayogo evangelists ; Eglise du Christ formed, by 1970 had 10,000 followers (43 percent of Mayogo tribe). A strong personality who has built up an expanding church.



EDJRO Josué. Ivory Coast healer among southern tribes, within Methodist Church. 1965, mass pilgrimages to his village for healing began, a thousand sick persons a month; but no conscious attempt to foster a movement, nor to form a group of permanent disciples. One of numerous charismatic figures content to work within the Western-related mission churches without forming separatist bodies.

EMMANUEL, Mrs. C.A.A., see Christianah ABIODUN.

[†] HARRIS, William Wadé. Liberian (Grebo tribe); born Graway, Cape Palmas; educated under American Methodist mission, Cape Palmas; baptised aged 21; a schoolteacher for ten years, also worked as a seaman; involvement unsuccessfully in political endeavour; married Rose Ba, had two sons, four daughters. 1910, experience of personal conversion to Christ whilst offering an animistic sacrifice, during which he heard a voice behind him; 1913, entered Ivory Coast, began preaching; enormous response among southern tribes (Ebrie, Adjukru, Avikam, et al.), baptised 120,000 pagan adults in just over a year; no intention of founding a new denomination, but always urged converts to join the nearest Roman Catholic or Protestant mission; on his travels, always accompanied by from three to six female disciples, usually considered additional wives; 1915, deported to Liberia by French authorities after World War began; rejected as a prophet by Liberians, died unknown and in poverty, 10 October 1929. Left a written *Testament* of 25 September 1926, urging that British Methodist missionaries follow up his converts in Ivory Coast. One of the greatest of all African prophets.

ISAFOLO Stéphane, Secrétaire, Union Chrétienne de Charité, B.P. 1383, Kisangani, Congo-Kinshasa. Congolese (Wagenia tribe, Bina extended family, Yasanga); born Stanleyville, 1905; no formal education; married in 1936. Baptised in 1936 under Baptist Missionary Society (U.K.), unpaid catechist; 1940 began a widelyrenowned work of *charité* among Wagenia ex-slaves, widows, orphans and old people; 1952, became Salvation Army *chef de poste*. 1961, received vision of future rebellion, 1962 broke from Army; 1964, ministered to the poor throughout Simba fighting; 1965, founded Union Chrétienne de Charité (UCC), 1968 approved by government; not strictly a church, since everything revolves round Friday 5 p.m. prayer service, and members belong to other churches. A dedicated philanthropist and charismatic.





[†] JEHU-APPIAH, Jemisimiham, Founder and General Head Prophet and Leader, Musama Disco Christo Church (MDCC) (Army of the Cross of Christ Church). Ghanaian (Fanti tribe); born Edumfa, Cape Coast, 1892; 1901-10, educated Methodist school, Abura Dunkwa, and Cape Coast; 1911, Methodist teacher-catechist; politician, executive of Aborigines Rights Protection Society; married with seven children (wife Pros. Natholomoa Jehu-Appiah still being in 1971 Head Prophetess). In 1919, founded Faith Society within Methodist Church; then in 1922, an independent church, MDCC; died 23 September 1948, succeeded by older son Mathapoly Moses JEHU-APPIAH (q,v.). Writings: Musama History Book (in Fanti language), 1943. The first African prophet to found a Pentecostal movement in West Africa, and to attempt to combine African culture and tradition with faithfulness to the Gospel of Christ.

JEHU-APPIAH, Mathapoly Moses, Leader and General Head Prophet, Musama Disco Christo Church (MDCC), Mozano, P.O. Box 3, Gomoa Eshiem, Ghana. Ghanaian (Fanti tribe), son of founder of MDCC; succeeded on father's death in 1948. Under him, the church has grown rapidly; 1948, 5540 members; 1954, 8280; 1956, 14,000; 1959, 19,800. 1965, made celebrated mistaken prophecy that Ghana would suffer three days of total darkness. This church is interesting in that, as is the case with a number of other independent churches across Africa, it combines Pentecostal features with hierarchy, elaborate ritual and colourful vestments.





KADIMA, Marc, Représentant légal, COSSEUJCA (Conseil Supérieur des Sacrificateurs pour les Eglises-Unies de Jésus-Christ en Afrique – Supreme Council of Priests for the United Churches of Jesus Christ in Africa), B.P. 985, Luluabourg, Congo-Kinshasa. Congolese (Lulua tribe); an independent church statesman who has attempted to unite all independent bodies in Kasai and region ; 1965, formed COSSEUJCA, with 28 member churches around Luluabourg, hopes to get Protestant and Catholic churches in also; has a linked organisation CPCS (Caisse Philanthropique Chrétienne des Sacrifices – Christian Philanthropic Fund of Sacrificial Gifts), which collects food, clothes, money, for distribution to all in need.

- [†] KAMWANA, Elliott. Nyasaland prophet (Tumbuka tribe), under whom arose large revivals and and mass baptisms into the Church of Scotland Mission over the period 1899-1903; in 1908, he baptised 10,000 lakeside Tonga at Bandawe, and the most important separatist movement in Central Africa resulted – the Church of the Watch Tower, which has since, however, gone into steady decline.
- **† KIMBANGU, Simon,** Ngunza wa Nzambi (Prophet of God, Envoyé de Dieu). Congolese (Kongo tribe, Musingombe clan); born N'kamba, September 1889; four years' primary schooling at Baptist Mission of Ngombe Lutete (Wathen); 1913, married Mwilu Marie, three children born, 1914, 1916, 1918; baptised 1915 by Baptist Mission. 1918, heard God's call to evangelise and heal; 6 April 1921, healed Nkiantondo at N'kamba, massive revival broke out across Lower Congo, at first supported by Mission; but Belgian colonial authorities alarmed, imprisoned him 1921 (during which Kimbangu consciously imitated Jesus' arrest); deported across to eastern Congo to Elizabeth-ville (now Lubumbashi) prison (see photo), where he died thirty years later on 12 October 1951. After 40 years' underground existence, his movement surfaced in 1959 to become the Eglise de Jésus-Christ sur la terre par le Prophète Simon Kimbangu, or EJCSK (Church of Jesus Christ on earth through the Prophet Simon



Kimbangu), now with 3 million adherents. No writings by him exist, but there are authorities' letters in Kinshasa archives, and a diary of his co-worker Nfinangani. One of the greatest African prophets and martyrs, through whom Jesus Christ became for the Congolese no longer the "pale Christ of the Whites" but a living reality.



KIVULI, M.P. David Zakayo, Founder and Kuhani Mkuu (High Priest), African Israel Church Nineveh (AICN), Box 701, Kisumu, Kenya. Kenyan (Luhya tribe, Tiriki sub-tribe); born Tiriki, North Nyanza, 1896; 1912, education to standard VII; married 1921, one wife, two sons; 1927-29, Kabete school; 1927-41, preacher and supervisor in Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada mission, Nyangori. Trouble with mission due to his charismatic gifts; so on 1 January 1942, founded AICN; Church has now spread throughout Kenya with 100,000 adherents, also to Tanzania and Uganda; 1970, church accepted as probationary member, National Christian Council of Kenya. Writings: *Laws and Constitution of AICN* (1948). A long-established and revered leader. (For a detailed study of the AICN, see Welbourn and Ogot's *A Place to Feel at Home*, 1966).

[†] LALOU, Marie Dawono. Ivory Coast prophetess (Bete tribe), a former Roman Catholic, who in 1922 formed a syncretistic separatist body, the Eglise Déimatiste (Church of Ashes of Purification), with herself as grand prêtresse and papesse; 1923, vision of Christ resulting in new religious rites; by 1958, about 90,000 adherents, with the papesse succeeded by a newly elected woman head, Dionisse.

LAWSON, Brother Gilbert, Divine Healer's Church, P.O. Box 3017, Accra, Ghana. Ghanaian (Ga tribe); 1954, separated from Apostolic Church (Britain) to begin church, also known as The Lord is There Temple; spreading rapidly throughout Ghana, including to the Muslim north; 1967, 100,000 adherents.

LAWSON, Sister. Ghanaian (Ga tribe), wife of Brother LAWSON (q.v.), and reputedly the power behind the scenes, as with women in traditional Ga society.

* LEKGANYANE, Engenas B., Second Leader, Zion Christian Church, Zion City, Morija, Transvaal, South Africa. Pedi tribe; 1949, succeeded his father, Ignace, Molimo le Mopholosi (God and Saviour), who founded ZCC in 1914; rapid growth from 515 men and 411 women in 1925; 1942, 28,000 in 50 centres; 1958, almost 80,000 adherents; 1966, 200,000 adherents. Died 1966 at Zion City, left instructions for his 13-year-old son to succeed him.

LENSHINA (= Regina, Queen), or Alice Lenshina Mulenga. Zambian prophetess (Bemba tribe); born 1924; married; Presbyterian (Church of Scotland Mission). 1953, anti-witchcraft movement, destruction of fetishes; massive revival to her village began, drawing 50,000 pilgrims and adherents by 1957, 100,000 by 1961; after two years, excommunicated by Presbyterian Church, organised the Lumpa Church (the Itinerating Church, or the Church which excels all others Salvation); 1964, violent uprising after refusal to pay taxes, armed defence of holy villages crushed by Zambian government with 700 persons killed; church proscribed, Lenshina restricted, adherents fled to Congo. Released and restricted again, escaped and recaptured; 1971, still 20,000 followers.





LIKANJA, Denys, Représentant légal, Eglise Chrétienne Evangélique d'Afrique (ECEA), B.P. 302, Kisangani, Congo-Kinshasa. Congolese (Lokele tribe); born circa 1915; first marriage in 1934 broke down, second in 1940, eight children ; Yakusu Bible school, Baptist Missionary Society ; 1934, BMS school-teacher, laid off in 1941 ; 1942, pastor under Unevangelised Fields Mission. 1959, founded Eglise de la Conscience Chrétienne (Church of the Christian Conscience) in protest against prolonged catechumenate, anti-alcohol rules, and harsh marriage regulations ; held inaugural meeting in a Stanleyville bar to assert liberty of conscience over drink ; 1962, fused with Eglise de Pentecôte Bitule, also Eglise Libre du Christ, to form the ECEA ; 1967, 2000 adherents ; 1971, church joined antiecumenical International Council of Christian Churches. Writings : 'Quelques erreurs d'œuvre missionaire au Congo'. One of many independent church leaders at a regional level across Africa.

MA NKU (Mother Christina Mokutudu Nku), Founder, Head and Life General President, St. John's Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa, c/o 5759 Orlando East, Johannesburg, S. Africa. South African (Ndebele tribe); born Bolibe, 1894; brought up under Dutch Reformed Church; had vivid vision in 1906, subsequently famous for visions and prophecies, especially of events in her own life, marriage, children, and founding of her own church; married Lazarus Mosioa Nku (deceased); first son named John; joined Apostolic Faith Mission (from USA) as a renowned faith healer; eventually her thousands of followers, persons healed by prayer, and sympathisers, formed themselves into a large independent church, St. John's Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa. A remarkable prophetess with a special gift of efficacy in prayer.

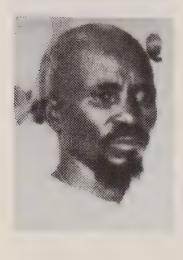


MAI CHAZA, see Mai CHAZA

* MALAKI Musajjakawa. Ugandan (Ganda tribe); born circa 1875; Anglican, but failed baptismal test in 1901 and 1904; school teacher, held small chieftainships. 1914, led separatist revival movement opposed to European medicine, Katonda Omu Ainza Byona (Society of the One Almighty God), or Malakite Church, the largest schism ever from the Anglican Church in Uganda; 1921, 91,740 Ganda adherents; 1930, 56,952; 1966, only about 1,000 left. Died in 1929, a typical African prophetic figure in trouble with mission and colonial authorities, and torn between following Christ and reviving traditional religious practices condemned by Europeans.

MAMA MTAKATIFU, see MARIA

MAPAULOS Bandal, known as Vamatenga (The Heavenly One); Prophet, Mai Chaza Church, Highfields, Salisbury, Rhodesia. Malawian (Shona tribe); in 1960, brought his barren wife to City of God (Guta ra Jehovah) in Rhodesia; on Easter Day, 1961, 'seized' by spirit supposed to be recently-deceased prophetess Mai (Mother) CHAZA (q.v.), made head of Mai Chaza Church. A typical para-messianic African figure, regarded as divine or the 'Jesus of Africa' by many followers (as SHEMBE, ONDETO, KIMBANGU, q.v.), merging in his person the sacral kingship of African tradition, Old Testament notion of God's holiness, the messianic concept of the New Testament, and the African desire for a black Immanuel to overthrow White domination.



- * MARANKE, Johane, Mupristi (High Priest). Rhodesian (Shona tribe, Manyika, Maranke area); born Maranke, 1912, of royal Sithole father Momberume ; raised a Methodist ; visions and dreams from the age of six. 1932, outpouring of Holy Spirit on Maranke led to mass revival based on his revelations; new body formed, the AACJM (African Apostolic Church of Johane Maranke), or Vapostori (Apostles); a family movement with Johane's closest relatives taking over all key positions in the hierarchy as liebauma (top-rank, a word revealed to Johane in a vision); rapid growth; 1964, 9,000 attended one annual Pasika (Passover) celebration; 1967, 50,000 participants in Rhodesia, with over 150 Pasika sites, and 40,000 adherents in Congo across to Kinshasa. Writings : an Apostolic Book of his visions, Umboo utsva hwavaPostori ('The New Revelation of the Apostles'), regarded by the Apostles as a canonical addition to the Bible. Founder died in 1963, leaving sixteen wives. A schism of 1,000 members later took place led by his cousin Simon Mushati, but this has scarcely affected the movement's growth.
- [†]MARIA, Mama Mtakatifu (Holy Mother). Kenyan (Luo tribe); born Nyanza, circa 1876; no schooling, no knowledge of reading or writing; no known husband or children; a Roman Catholic, heard call to begin an African church many years before first movement began in 1957.1960, founded Maria Legio of Africa (Legion of Mary of Africa Church), leadership then passing to her spiritual son Simeon ONDETO (q.v.) as Baba Mtakatifu (Holy Father). By 1963, movement widespread, chiefly among Luo tribe, 90,000 followers reported. Largest independent church separated from Roman Catholic Church in whole of Africa; 1971, missions in Tanzania, Uganda and Congo-Kinshasa. A widely-travelled charismatic and mystic; died 1966 at Effeso market, Nzoia, Siaya, Nyanza.





* MATTITA (or MATITA), Walter ; original name Manzinyo ('Teeth', because born with full set). Sotho (Basuto) tribe; born 1885 in Lesotho of pagan Sotho father and Nguni (Amazize) mother; no formal education ; adhered to Sotho traditional religion until 1910 vision; married. 1910, experienced momentous vision in which he died, went through heaven, and rose again; taught reading and writing by an angel. Began as revival preacher under Paris Evangelical Missionary Society ; 1910, founded Moshoeshoe I Berea Bible Readers' Association as a movement within the mission ; 1921, ordained by Full Gospel Tabernacle, Bloemfontein, OFS; PEMS grew suspicious of him as a 'false prophet', excommunicated him 1922 after he had founded in 1921 Kereke ea Moshoeshoe I (Church of King Moshoeshoe I, founded by order of the dead king), also called Berea Bible Readers' Association; strong nationalistic element. After his death in 1935, church split into six rival factions, declined rapidly in numbers and importance.

MENSAH, Prophet David K., Leader and Prophet, Nazarene Healing Church, P.O. Box 6683, Accra, Ghana. Ghanaian (Ashanti tribe, Ejisu sub-tribe); born Ejisu-Abinase, 1930, never knew parents; no formal education; trained in Methodist Church, served as chapel keeper; married. Widely-travelled over Ghana, has also visited UK; a subsistence-level church with large shelters for church buildings, many stations, 10,000 members; specialised ministry of healing for childless women and medically hopeless cases.





MPADI, Son Excellence Patriarche Simon-Pierre, Fondateur-Président et Représentant légal, Eglise des Noirs en Afrique (ENAF) (Church of the Black Race in Africa), Ntendesi, B.P. 8029, Kinshasa, Congo. Congolese (Kongo tribe, Ntandu sub-tribe); born circa 1905; married 1926, seven children; 1916-25, primary education under ABFMS (American Baptist Mission), Sona-Bata; 1925-34, moniteur-catéchiste; 1934-37, evangelist with Salvation Army; 1938-39, at Salvation Army theological school, Kinshasa, On 7 September 1939, founded Mission Noire en Afrique Centrale (MNAC), later called Eglise des Noirs; imprisoned by Belgian authorities at Madimba jail for 18 years, during which time he had 14 physical experiences similar to death and resurrection; released at Congolese political independence, church flourished; 1970, about 15,000 followers. Writings: a number since 1938. One of the longest-serving surviving African prophets, with a long history of suffering, persecution and imprisonment, leading to eventual vindication in the independent Africa of the 1960s.

NENILAVA ('My tall Mother') (Mrs. Volahavana Germaine). Malagasy (Antaimoro tribe, in southern Madagascar); born 1919; raised in Lutheran Church of Madagascar; married a Lutheran catechist. 1939, called as prophetess and healer in the Ankaramalaza revival, led movement for thirty years, keeping it within the Lutheran Church without schism. A towering white-robed figure, who collaborates both with European missionaries and with the Manolotsoa (Doers of Good, Philanthropists), white-robed workers who buy clothes, food or lodging for the poor and needy, and also run literacy classes and schools.





NGOMBERUME, Abel, or Abero Momberume, High Priest, African Apostolic Church of Johane Maranke (AACJM), Maranke Reserve, P.O. Umtali, Rhodesia. Rhodesian (Shona tribe) ; brought up in AACJM founded 1932 by his father MARANKE (q.v.) ; after his death in 1963, succeeded him as Mupristi (High Priest). His headgear and vestments are modelled on the pattern of those of the High Priest Aaron in Old Testament times. (For an absorbing and detailed account of the rise of the AACJM and its present state, there is a very good study by M.L. Daneel, *The Background and Rise of Southern Shona Independent Churches*, 1971).

ONDETO, Simeon, Baba Mtakatifu (Holy Father), Maria Legio of Africa, Mount Zion, P.O. Box 70, Kisii, Kenya. Kenyan (Luo tribe); born circa 1910; four years' education; Roman Catholic, insufficient education for priest, became catechist; unmarried. 1961, on the founding of Maria Legio Church by his spiritual mother MARIA (q.v.), became Baba Mtakatifu, known also in Luo language as Jalok (the Converter). As church expanded across Kenya, his fame and reputation for holiness grew, and by 1970 he became known as messiah and 'Jesus'; as with other prophets who have been revered as semi-divine (see CHAZA, JEHU-APPIAH, KIMBANGU, LEKGA-NYANE, LENSHINA, MAPAULOS, MATTITA, SHEMBE), this seems to be in fact no more than awe and rejoicing that God has revealed himself at last through a Black African charismatic leader.





* OSHITELU, Josiah Olunowo, Founder and First Primate, Church of the Lord (Aladura), Ogere, Nigeria. Nigerian (Yoruba tribe, Ijebu section); born Ogere, 15 May 1902, of pagan parents; baptised Anglican 1914, confirmed 1922; Anglican primary school, then pupil-teacher, teacher-catechist; first marriage circa 1929, followed by six more by 1949 (all seven wives surviving him). Founded Church of the Lord on 27 July 1930, emphasising aladura (praying); remained the leader, head and focus of unity until his death on 12 July 1966. Writings: many, including (1930-36) prophecies about Nigeria, (1945-65) annual prophecies; Specific Uses of Psalms, and other church materials. A charismatic type with emphasis on revelations (including revealed script), but unable to keep pace with the accelerating social changes in Nigeria up to his death. (Oshitelu and his church are fully described in H.W. Turner's massive two-volume study, African Independent Church, 1967).

* RAJAONARY. Malagasy (Merina tribe); pastor under London Missionary Society in Madagascar; clashed with mission over his attempt to modify mission regulations in accordance with Malagasy psychology; disciplined on immorality charge. 1894, seceded and founded Fiangonana Protestanta Malagasy Tranozozoro Antranobiriky (FMTA) ('Malagasy Protestant Church, formerly with reed churches, now with brick'); separatists were named Tranozozoro (Shack-dwellers), after their flimsy structures built from aquatic plant zozoro, a traditional building material of significance in Malagasy culture. By 1966, the FMTA had grown to 110 churches and 4,000 adherents.

RAKOTOBE Andriamaro. Malagasy (Merina tribe): evangelist under London Missionary Society, who in 1955 began an evangelistic enterprise under the LMS church called the Mission Evangélique de Tananarive; mission disapproval increased, founder renamed body the Eglise Réformée Indépendante de Madagascar; 1961, affiliated with International Council of Christian Churches; 1966, 220 churches, and 20,000 adherents. The history of this leader illustrates how difficult it is for a Western mission-related church in Africa to accept new or unusual (and therefore often disturbing) initiatives inside itself.



RAKOTOZANDRY Daniel. Malagasy prophet under whom revival started in village of Farihimena in 1947; during the four years 1947-51, one million pilgrims are estimated to have visited it. Part of the revival still remains within the Lutheran Church, part has seceded as the Eglise du Réveil.



RANDRIANAIVO, Rev. Jean G., Directeur-Délégué, FMTA (Eglise Protestante Malgache), V.B-48 Lalana Amiral Pierre, Tananarive, Madagascar. Malagasy independent church leader, head of the island's first separatist body begun 1894 under Pasteur RAJAONARY (q.v.); 1966, 100 churches, 4,000 adherents. A leader anxious to get into relationship with other churches and international Christian organisation, but handicapped (as throughout Africa) by poor communications and lack of resources to correspond and travel. The difficulties that confront such leaders is evident from the fact that in 1966 he had never heard of the independent churches in Black Africa, though so similar to his own; neither had any independent church in Africa heard of his.

* SHEMBE, Isaiah. South African (Zulu tribe); born 1870; visions as a youth; already famous as a prophet and healer when in 1906 he was baptised in African Native Baptist Church; husband of four wives; no formal education. 1911, founded Nazirite Baptist Church, or ama-Nazaretha; 1916, had revelation that God wanted to speak to him on Mt. Nhlangakasi (Zululand) as he had spoken to Moses on Mt. Sinai; established holy village Ekuphakameni, 18 miles from Durban; at his death in 1935, 30,000 adherents. Widely revered, probably had more influence in his day than any other Zulu; often spoken of as a Black Messiah (see comments on this subject under ONDETO).





SHEMBE, Johannes Galilee. Prophet, Nazirite Baptist Church, Phoenix, P.O. Inanda, Natal, South Africa. South African (Zulu tribe); educated at Fort Hare Native College, earned B.A.; succeeded his father Isaiah SHEMBE in 1935; church has grown to over 80,000 adherents by 1970. Lacking the magnetic personal qualities of his father, he has had leadership struggles within the church, which came to a head in 1939 when 1,500 Nazarites stoned to death a man who threatened him. But today he is the object of widespread veneration. (The theology of this church has been studied in G.C. Oosthuizen's book, *The Theology of a South African Messiah*, 1967, which draws attention to the remarkable hymnody and music of the Nazirite Church, a feature which characterises a large number of other independent churches too).

SPARTAS, Archimandrite Reuben S.S. Mukasa, Founder and Vicar-General, African Greek Orthodox Church (AGOC), Namungona, Box 508, Kampala, Uganda. Ugandan (Ganda tribe) ; born Kira, 16 December 1899; 1907, baptised in Anglican Church; primary and secondary education 1904-17, 1919-23, at Masooli and Kira (Anglican) school, Kasambya Nakanyonyi; Bishop's School Mukono; King's College, Buddo ; a noted athlete, hence named 'Spartas' ; 1924, first person to start an independent school; married in 1928, one daughter; wife died 1933, has not re-married because of Orthodox canon law; 1929, helped organise political party Abazukulu ba Kintu. Left Anglican Church to found African Orthodox Church, 6 January 1929; ordained May 1932; 1943, church linked up with African Orthodox Church in Kenya; 1946, church accepted into communion by Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria; 1970, about 10,000 followers. 1944, further political involvement, leading to 1949-53 imprisonment by Buganda court; 1955, founder member of Progressive Party; 1956, nominated member of Buganda Lukiko (Parliament). Subsequently, an unhappy church history of conflict with Greek missionaries invited to assist AGOC, and fruitless attempts to obtain aid and consecration of an African bishop from Patriarchates of Moscow, Roumania, Cairo, Alexandria. Writings: typescript History of the AGOC in Uganda (c. 1950), also manuscript autobiography. A man of considerable force and intelligence, whose movement might have become really significant if the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches had not been part of the Buganda establishment.



TOCO, Simao. Angolan prophet (Kongo tribe, Bombo sub-tribe); born Sadi Quilosago near Maquala do Zombo, circa 1915; schooling under Baptist Missionary Society (UK); secondary school, Luanda; 1937, catechist at Quibocole mission, and later Bombo mission. On 25 July 1949, when singing with choir during nocturnal prayer meeting, 'illuminated' by Holy Spirit, then founded Ebundu dia Mfumu eto Yeso Klisto (Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ), or Tocoism, or the Red Star Cult; widespread expansion in Angola and Congo, aided by dispersion, persecution, and later by the military uprising; monogamy stressed, severe discipline introduced including death penalty; 1965, about 10,000 adherents; prophet imprisoned, sent to Azores as lighthouse-keeper, released again several times by authorities in unsuccessful effort to contain the movement.

† TSIZEHENA, John, 'Bishop of the North, D.D.' Malagasy ; born circa 1854 ; 1865, baptised under Church Missionary Society at Vohemar mission ; taken seriously ill, was dying, suddenly revived to hear God's call to evangelise the pagan Antankarana and Sakalava in the north of Madagascar ; unsupported by the Anglican missionaries, began 1885 at Namakia, equipped with only the Malagasy Bible. Within twenty years, this untrained layman had created a strong indigenous church known as the Diocese of the North, Mission Lord Church, or the Northern Church of Madagascar ; zealous followers lost patience with Anglican procrastination in the capital, consecrated John with the title Lord Bishop of the North, D.D. 1911, visited by missionary bishop from the south, agreed to place church under Anglican missionary control; died in 1912. A great indigenous pioneer, content to channel his work into the Western missionary enterprise. WITBOOI, Markus. Namibian (South West African) (Nama Hottentot tribe). Teacher under Rhenish Mission (Lutheran), who in 1940 led disaffection due to lack of provision for children's education, and due also to handing over of mission, during War, to Dutch Reformed Church. 1946, led large secession of one-third all congregations (8,348 members), then affiliated new body to African Methodist Episcopal Church.



WOVENU, Prophet C.K.N., Founder and Spiritual Head, Apostles Revelation Society, A.R.S. Headquarters, New Tadzewu, Volta Region, Ghana. Ghanaian (Ewe tribe) ; born Anyako, 1918 ; elementary education ; married. 1939, founded Apostolowo Fe Dedefia Habobo (Apostles Revelation Society), which has since grown widely. Founder has had prominent role in reforming the religious life of his nation, has begun schools, philanthropic organisations and a hospital, opened branches in other African nations, and has evangelised in Britain and the USA. A very original Christian pioneer, who combines charismata, including healing, and orthodox Christian doctrine, with a variety of innovations in church life and administration.

YEBOA-KORIE, Reverend Brother, Founder and Head, Eden Revival Church, P.O. Box 6757, Accra North, Ghana. Ghanaian (Akyem Abuakwa tribe, of Akan nation); born Enyiresi, Akim Abuakwa, 1 December 1938; educated to school and higher certificates; strict Presbyterian upbringing; chronic illness; became preacher, sought baptism of the Holy Spirit with fasting; unmarried, vow of celibacy; vegetarian, teetotaler, humanitarian. In February 1963, founded Eden Revival Church, which then spread widely, emphasising music and education, and which in 1970 joined Christian Council of Ghana. An outstanding preacher, one of the few independent church leaders in Africa who carries out nation-wide field evangelism; 1968, attempted to unite all Spiritual Churches in Ghana; 1971, working on theological training for independent church clergy.



* ZWIMBA, Matthew Chigaga. Rhodesian (Zezuru tribe); evangelist under Wesleyan Methodist mission, placed under unsympathetic white supervision, then dismissed. 1915, formed new tribal church, Shiri Chena (Original Church of the White Bird), named with a double reference of the 'White Bird' as the Holy Spirit as dove, and also as the traditional messenger to mankind of Mwari the High God. This church canonised as its saints and martyrs those Africans who were killed in the 1896-97 uprising against the British. Many other independent churches have similar lists of local African martyr-heroes.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS are made to the following persons who very kindly supplied unpublished information and photographs for the Who's Who: (1) Prof. Kofi Asare Opoku, the Rev. Dr. Harold Turner, the Rev. Dr. Marie-Louise Martin, the Rev. S.A. Mohono, the Rev. Prof. John Mbiti, the Rev. F.B. Welbourn, Dr. C. Van der Poort, Miss Leny Lagerwerf, Dr. A.F. Droogers, the Rev. W.B. Anderson, Mr. D. Aoko, Pasteur Emmanuel Yando, the Rev. J.R. Pritchard, and several others; and, (2) AIC leaders themselves, or their churches' secretariats, who have been most helpful in supplying autobiographical details.

GOOD-BYE

Halleluyah! Halleluyah! We must say today Back to your land! Goodbye, we rejoice With such pretence For why did you say The glory of God? Our rhythms to spring Why did you frown To dress like the Son? That the robe matched not For the Son was white Whiteness was the Son Why did you not tell us If you know too well And the colour of the skin Now we say, Halleluyah! We'll dance to a stoop And shoulders will shake Let's dance to the rhythm Halleluvah! In the songs we know To reach our hearts To give the Lord a change Halleluyah! Which land shall we find Which tune shall we choose In what pitch Must we choose Brother, don't be amazed The branches of one tree The goal is only one We'll keep the paths For the Lord to walk Of Africa Our rivers will flow With the breath of the Lord Our mountains will rise For the sky is not less blue Our vallevs will abound For the sun shines no less

hurrah! hurrah! brother goodbye, thank you! thank you! you'll never come againto know God too well! our tunes did not contain-Gosh! Goodbye! Hurrah! the Lord needs them. when we took the robe: and you said thingsworn on black! as if, and really soand blackness the devil! the shades of Heaven, the colour of the throne, of our dear Lord? in the African rhythm; to reach the ground, like tender branches; of our black breeze: in the African beat, those tunes we make, to convey the delight, too long He's waited; and hurrah! without His footprint? to reach His heart? and in which timeand be sure to reach Him? they belong to oneand just remember: to please the Lord; cleared and sweptto enjoy the gardens, Halleluyah! our breeze will kiss-Halleluyah! to the glory of God; in our Africa: with the glory of God, in our Africa.

...let's go to church **Donald R. Jacobs**

CHURCH AND SYMBOL

Go along with Ed and me to church. It is a congregation of the Church of the Lord, Aladura (Spiritual) in Abidjan, Ivory Coast. Hopefully, this will give you something of a feel for the movement. Ed is Bishop Edwin Weaver, an American churchman who has almost become part of the new African church movements.

The taxi dropped us between the sea and a great sprawling market in the heart of Abidjan. As we threaded our way through the colorful stalls, it was like passing through a hundred worlds. For twenty steps the smell of strong African soap lay heavy on the olfactories, then fruit, yards of pineapples and sweet citrus, an area shining with brilliant market-type jewellery, followed then medicines of every description ranging from powder of ground-up bones to Aspro and syringes. Then we dodged through clothes hanging on line after colorful line. Shoes, tobacco, baskets, buckets and bustle, that is the market. It is a perfect lobby for a church entrance.

Then through a little wooden door, back a narrow sandy passage, and the church! Some twenty people had gathered and were singing a song about Jesus being Lord.

It was not much of a building, ten feet wide and twenty long, open on the side toward the alley so that passersby could see everything. Up front a rail set off the altar which included a table with seven burning candles, a lectern, two chairs, and a little vase with four smiling purple pansies. A table full of all sorts of bottles filled with water was located very near the door and caught my eye at once. I also noticed a basin of water at the door. There was water for cleansing before entrance, for healing, for strengthening and just for pure enjoyment under a hot tropical sun. During the ensuing service of worship, my eyes came back again and again to those bottles filled with clear, sparkling water. I

thought of the Well of Water, the outpouring of the Spirit, the River of Life. It is very fitting that a church which emphasizes the work of the Spirit should give the symbol of water an exalted place.

And fire was there, too, burning candles. It provided at least a psychological warmth as the sun was producing more than enough of the physical kind. But in Africa fire has profound symbolical meaning, usually involved in fertility rites and for cleansing.

Ed and I took our shoes off at the door, as is the custom, and were given two seats up front amid singing and clapping. They were getting into the service when we arrived, but they had a musical interlude to welcome us and then went on with the liturgy – given mostly in English but punctuated regularly by short bursts of holy words which, I understand, are just that: holy words which were revealed to the leaders of the church and are now recorded for the use of the members. Holy words have a very great significance for religious movements. Their use is perhaps a way of expressing mystery and awe, or maybe an expression of deep feeling which the Spirit alone can translate. There was no glosslalia used in this service, but in many similar churches it is an assumed legitimate mode of worship.

We also found that the act of removing shoes and crossing the little threshold into the warmth of brotherly fellowship was significant. That step moved us from one world into another, even though the noise and the market confusion was right there.





Getting back to the service, Scriptures were read, more singing, announcements were given, more singing. It seemed like a service in song broken by prayers, Bible reading, and preaching. A sermon came at an appropriate time, the pastor dressed in clerical robes. It was a simple message on Jesus' perfect provision for all of life, and encouraged the group to stay close to Jesus. We sang a few songs here and there during the sermon, each one ultimately ending in a mild dance.

Just a word on the music; it was all congregational and was accompanied by drums and tamborines which added much to the intensity of the worship experience. Drums are all-important in the African setting, for it is through drumming that the soul is aroused to communicate with his fellows, with those now dead and with the Divine. The drum has a profound religious significance which melts the hardest heart.

The drumsticks, the candles, the elongated cross, the pastor's staff, spoke of virility and power. And the Bible was always there, a source of strength and comfort. It was God's Word, with all that that means in Africa.

Sermon over, all those who were sick were invited to come forward, kneel and pray. They were directed to rub where it hurt as a prayer was said for them, women first and then the men.

A moment for prophecy or admonition followed. A lady stood and shared a vision. She said that in her mind she saw many in the congregation with their hands raised. The pastor interpreted it as a picture of God's hosts. There being no further visions, we proceeded to the morning offering.

All the women came up, bowed their heads to the ground seven times, jumped up and down seven times, said seven Hallelujahs, seven Hosannas, and then, you may not believe it, seven laughs! Yes, everyone laughed heartily seven times. We could do with a little of that in our Western churches. This was followed by an offering and the men did the same, jumps, laughs, and all. Ed warned me not to put in all my money as other offerings were to follow. After this, the two pastors walked through the audience and gave specific words of prophecy to a few people. One of them told me that God had revealed to him that I would do extensive travel the following year and I would help many people. The travelling I could see, but I was not so sure about the latter. One lady was told to drink speciallyblessed water for her stomach troubles, another that if she does not pray diligently death will come near her within the next few days, and to another that she must stop quarreling at home. All of these admonitions were given in love and tenderness but very firmly.

Testimonies were then given and all closed with the singing of more songs, with drums, and dancing. I even danced a little. Ed is less inhibited. Then we put our shoes on again and left. Ed was so engrossed that he forgot his books and had to go back for them.

As we made our way out through the maze of market stalls, I felt myself refreshed. The service was an hour and a half, but seemed much less. Those people went home with a word of encouragement, a new grip on the Lord, a sense of being continually cared for by the group, and with a song of joy in their hearts. They had brought their total needs to a loving Father and a loving church. Is this not what Christian fellowship is all about anyway?

I was struck by the ingenious symbolism employed throughout the service. There was a sort of Old Testament theme running throughout, but the Gosepl was there as well and all in an African setting. Many of these churches are striving to bring all of life, the old, the new, and the foreign, under the Lordship of Christ. They express as well their concern for the whole man, his body, mind, spirit, his emotions and his relationships. So what might seem like a queer mixture to put together in the context of Christian faith and fellowship seems so right here. Old Testament names like Aaron and place names like Nineveh and the use of the deprecatory Psalms remind one of the close tie between the African people of God and Old Testament Israel. But then the dove and the water of the Spirit and the preaching of the Gospel and the ubiquitous cross are undeniably New Testament. The drums, the holy words, the communal sharing, the view of life as a complex whole and the wide open, uninhibited joyous expressions of faith are theirs by tradition.





SUNDAY IN AFRICA ...let's go to church



In these four photographs, join us one morning in Western Kenya for divine worship

1. The place is Effeso Mission, Nzoia Market. The church is Maria Legio of Africa (begun 1960), with around 100,000 followers. Here at the start of the service, clergy and bishops process through the huts to the field where the service will take place.

(Photographs by Otieno Makonyango, Nairobi)





2. Arriving at the open-air altar, Cardinal Johannes Muga chants the Communion Service in both the Latin and Luo languages. Prominent home-made symbols are evident everywhere, especially crosses, doves, white robes, and holy water. Everybody participates, in prayer, in ecstatic shouts, in meditation.

3. Always important is the sermon - the proclamation of the Word of God. Since Kenya has 70 languages, an interpreter is always essential, and gives sentenceby-sentence translation. It is very hot - the wise have brought umbrellas.



4. Finally, after communion has been administered, Baba Mtakatifu (Holy Father) Simeon Ondeto appears and bestows his blessing on the bishops and the whole congregation: "Go in the peace of Christ". And so we depart.



<text>

Odhiambo W. Okite

African independent churches – once known as schismatic movements, then as break-away churches, and nowadays referred to in some circles as renewal movements – are certainly and rapidly gaining acceptance and respectability. This increasing status, and rapid growth in both numbers and members, make these churches of some importance to the future of the Christian faith in Africa.

Not all of these churches can, by any means, be described as Christian. Neither do they all have a chance of surviving the test of time. But quite a number of them seem to have a good grasp of the Christian belief and practice; and some are developing such an originally African type of Christianity that they seem well assured of a future in Africa.

In this ecumenical age it is unfortunate that African Christianity should experience the pains of schism; but the African Christian soil is still fertile for division. Predictions that political independence in Africa would arrest church independency have not come true; instead the trend has picked up pace. In fact, politics itself is still a major factor in church independency. Politics becomes a factor in church independency when the "mother" churches become so submerged in a certain political situation that they fail to see the elements of evil in it. These churches lose their prophetic role in the situation. They cannot see it in the full perspective of human experience, and they lack the vision of the vast possibilities of the future should the circumstances change.

This was the failure of the majority of missionary-led churches in Africa in the colonial days. The missionaries – not all of them, of course, but quite a number – could not envision a politically free Africa in which everyone enjoyed equal political and economic opportunity. They defended the "lawfully constituted authorities", and were passionate in favour of peace and order, and condemned those African Christians who got involved in "subversive political activities".

The issue was really very simple: it was whether or not the churches supported the exterior peace and order of the state over and above the interior peace and order of human soul. Those African Christians who felt that there could be no compromise on human rights and on justice, but who knew their faith well enough to know that Christ was on their side, had no choice but to leave the missionary-led churches, and form their own churches. These were not necessarily the educated African people, who in fact had many privileges in the new societies and the new religious communities. But these rebel religious leaders had a clear, if emotional, vision of something better in a new future.

Political independence could not in any way put a stop to this kind of prophetic involvement in politics. In the newly independent states of Africa, political leaders have seemed to some church leaders to have more authority in human affairs than the Lord Jesus Christ himself. A situation like this is ripe for schism.

But there are many other situations in the African Church which continue to create the old conflicts which led, and are still leading, to divisions. The new African-led churches have inherited the economic imbalance of the colonial churches, with leaders paid from abroad, and living in luxury while asking their subordinates to sacrifice to the maximum. Until the church leaders can really control the sources of their upkeep, until they actually begin to suffer the full range of headaches which go with their high offices, until they begin to sacrifice, their positions will continue to be surrounded by that unrealistic and almost irresponsible splendour, which will remain a real bone of contention.

Those churches with a local financial base, either in investments or in well-trained laity, seem to have developed leaders with a keen sense of financial responsibility, and seem to have got rid of the complaints of economic imbalance. Cultural tensions continue to be as strong in the Christian churches in politically independent Africa as they were in colonial Africa. Political independence brought with it self-awareness, self-confidence and the hope for the revival of traditional African values and culture. The basic orientation of Christian life in Africa remains perhaps as the strongest expression of Western influence in Africa today. This still invites rebellion.

Should these churches decide to unite to form a united front, they would become a formidable force for good for African Christianity. But there is one equally formidable problem on the way. There is the human factor, the arrogance, the sweet taste of power and prestige, the lack of patience and tolerance, the personality conflicts, the misuse of power. There would be few theological problems.

The independent churches in Africa have not generally been founded by theologians, or even clerics. They are creations of concerned laymen, all of whom, having left their mother churches, found themselves at the mercy of the historical and cultural circumstances surrounding them. The new churches naturally adopted a traditionally African world-view, in which human events are seen to be primarily controlled by spiritual forces. Birth, death, health, harvest, road-accidents, thunderstorms, political elections, are not merely physico-natural phenomena, but purposive acts of spiritual powers, evil or benevolent. This accounts for the very central place given to prayer in the life of the churches, for praying means confronting an all-powerful God with the lower, evil powers.

This also accounts for the belief in and practice of spiritual healing and of prophecy, and for the great importance attached to dreams and visions.

Another common characteristic of these churches is the very vigorous community life which they enjoy. The churches have become the new kinship group controlling all economic life as well as social relations. Sense of indentification can get so strong that uniforms become necessary in certain cases. In the face of the general break-down of the extended family system everywhere, the new church communities have provided the new social units, where hospitality is extended without the slightest reluctance, where marriage contracts are arranged, where business advice is freely given, where the individual in every way finds his roots once again.

The new churches are also giving women an interesting and challenging new role to play. In some of the independent African churches, women are the top executives, and in nearly all of them, women are in key leadership positions. This is a factor requiring a whole study in itself, for certainly there is something significant in this. There is something of the feminine religious genius which the old churches are not taking advantage of.

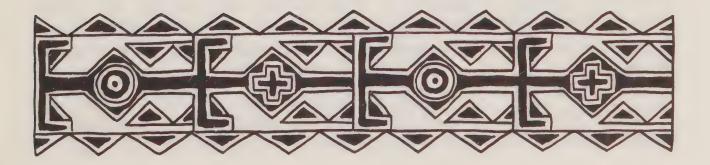
The worship services of these new churches also present a challenge to the older churches. While some churches have the regular weekly hour of service on Sunday in a building, all of them are ready for a service any time, any place where a congregation can be gathered up. The services are lively, theologically sound verses are put to traditional African tunes, and the full participation of the congregation is encouraged.

Another interesting characteristic of these churches is their deep devotion to Bible reading and Bible study. Some of them had earlier in their history rejected the Bible, but some of these are now bordering on bibliolatry. Bible translations into local languages and dialects have also helped to give the Bible its immense prestige as the Word of God applicable to anyone, anywhere.

Moreover, they see in the Bible a world-view that is very close to their own, and in the Biblical characters they see faith in its most simplified form, uncomplicated by theology.

The very valuable contributions that these churches can make to the life of the Church in Africa can be made possible only if the mother churches and the Christian Councils develop an openminded approach to them, take practical steps to establish bridges of understanding and reconciliation. The Councils should also help them in their training programmes, as this would help stabilize their theologies, standardize their structures, and rub out some extreme practices and beliefs from their leaders.

All this is possibly only in an atmosphere or mutual respect, with each group recognising their weaknesses and strengths.



WOMEN Dr. M.F. Perrin Jassv IN THE AFRICAN INDEPENDENT CHURCHES



Among the characteristic features of the African independent churches is the large proportion of women who take an active part in the religious and social life of these movements. Statistics for the total female membership in African independent churches are still lacking, but most authors stress its importance, and any attempt at explaining the causes and consequences of independency in Africa should take into consideration the specific roles and aims of women who join and sometimes lead these movements. To illustrate our point, we shall take some examples among the Luo of East Africa, a nilotic people living on the eastern shore of Lake Victoria. In ten movements studied in the district of North Mara, Tanzania, (1), the average proportion of women to men was two to one. Such a proportion is also common in the Roman Catholic Church in Europe, where in many places church-going is considered as a specifically female activity. In Europe, however, Christianity is the traditional religion of society. In Africa, on the contrary, joining an African independent church involves both a break with the traditional religion and an integration into a new community based upon spiritual kinship rather than blood. Our question is : what do African women want to break away from, and what do they look for in African independent churches?

What do African women want to break away from? The story of Gaudencia Aoko, prophet of the Legio Maria, a breakaway from the Roman Catholic Church in Kenya, will help us to understand the problem better.

According to popular belief, Gaudencia was a pagan living with her husband near the border between Kenya and Tanzania. One day two of her children died accidentally and mysteriously. Gaudencia then started to denounce the power of witches, and the abuses of witchdoctors who took money from people without having power themselves to help them. She left her home with her youngest child to visit a man called Marcellianus Orongo, who preached and baptised in Tanzania. She spent a night in his home, and he baptised her the following morning; then they left for Kenya where he baptised many other people. There they met Simeon Ondeto, another prophet of the Legio Maria, who gave Gaudencia the power of exorcising evil spirits and of baptising. Then she started a campaign against witches and magicians, preaching faithhealing and burning charms and magical objects used for protection against evil spirits.

In her person as well as in her preaching, Gaudencia expressed the women's desire for liberation from the ever-present fear of witchcraft, from the duties and tensions of the home, from the domination of men over women, from the burden of traditional customs and innumerable taboos, from the threat of death and diseases of their children. Liberation in fact from everything that oppressed them, until a source of power stronger than the traditional sources, ancestors, spirits and magicians, was offered to them : Christianity, in which all human beings regardless of age or sex could reach God through Christ.

What do African women look for in African independent churches? Let us tell the story of Christina Akinyi, born in Kenya and married to a Luo of Tanzania.

⁽¹⁾ See M.F. Perrin Jassy, La Communauté de base dans les Eglises Africaines, 1970, Centre d'Etudes Ethnologiques, Bandundu, Congo-Kinshasa.

Her first child had died, and her health was very bad, leaving her unable to help her husband's first wife on the farm. Her husband was tired of spending money for treatments, and he called the local community of Legio Maria to pray for her and exorcise the spirit which tormented her. Although she was a Roman Catholic, she could not refuse their prayers, and she thought that she would go back to the Roman Catholic Church once she had been cured. The Legio people came one afternoon to the farm, said the rosary and some other prayers, and she felt better right away. A meal was served to the visitors, who left before night. Two weeks passed, and Christina declared that she felt weak, but had no more trouble with her health. She added that she was pregnant before the evil spirit started tormenting her, and that the spirit had stopped the growth of the child. But now the child was growing again. Christina wanted to go back to the Roman Catholic Church, but the Legio people told her that the priest would not admit her back to the sacraments. And furthermore, her evil spirit would come back and trouble her again if she did not go and pray for others now that she was cured.

Here we have a good example of what women look for in the African independent churches. By definition, women in Luo society are displaced persons, never fully accepted in their husbands' homes. Especially when they come as second or third wives, when their children die, when they are sick or barren, their position becomes soon unbearable, as they are failing the expectations of their husband's family. The African independent churches, with their small communities, offer them another social group in which they are known and accepted as persons, in which



they become full citizens of the Kingdom of God, in which they can take initiatives and responsibilities, and in which they can acquire a social position independently from their situation at home. This is why exorcism and faith-healing necessarily involve affiliation to the new community, in which women find relief for their physiological and psychological symptoms, which are often linked with dissatisfaction at home.

Most African societies nowadays suffer from various problems born of social disorganisation and the lack of upward social mobility. This situation has given rise to numerous African independent churches which offer to their members a parallel social structure in which to find security and status. However, men and women have different roles and expectations in the traditional society, and therefore are affected differently by the problems of change.

This is expressed especially in the functions of women in African independent churches. Women leaders, preachers or priests are few. They usually form the bulk of the congregation, the rank and file, and they act together as a group rather than as individuals, although they divide responsibilities for specific tasks among themselves. Leaving to men the higher status and liturgical roles, they specialize in leading the singing in the community services, in organising prayer for the sick which caters especially to their needs. They are also in charge of help to the poor and sick, and they assume traditionally female tasks in cultivating the leader's fields and building the local chapel.

While men tend to look in African independent churches for leadership roles which are refused them in wider society without long formal education, women look for relief in their physiological sufferings, and for a community in which they can escape the tensions of their husbands' villages. Membership in African independent churches is one of the ways in which African women express their will to break away from the restrictions of the kinship system and to help build a new society.

JOYOUS BAPTISM

among the African independent Churches Kenneth J. Brown



A recent editorial in *The American Baptist*, the organ of the American Baptist Convention, bemoaned the funereal solemnity so characteristic of the services of baptism by immersion within the Western churches. "Baptism by immersion has a sensate side to it which should appeal to people who want to truly feel the world around them, to 'sense' their bodies and God's creation. We would be richer and perhaps better able to communicate with our age if we could enter into baptism by immersion with enthusiasm and joy. With drums and cymbals, and maybe a bugle ? OK, drums and cymbals. It is a swinging festive thing : this being buried, and raised in newness of life".

If the writer of that editorial could participate in the services of immersion celebrated by the African independent churches (AICs) of tropical Africa, he would find that for which he asks : visible enthusiasm and much singing, frequent drums and cymbals and always heartfelt joy. I have seen such manifestations in the baptismal services of these AICs, in East and West and Southern Africa. I have experienced with the members of these churches their contagion of high joy. With them baptism is a joyous event.

Of the two great Christian sacraments celebrated in the African churches, baptism by immersion is far closer to the African heart than Holy Communion. The African cultural tradition provides no close parallel for the latter. Immersion, however, with its clear likeness to traditional cleansings, comes like an old friend. There is immediate love for the symbol of water, standing for strength and purity.

One may ask what significance the African Christian assigns to baptism. How can one enter into the mind and heart of another when confronted with the barriers of race and culture? African replies and my own observations, however, persuade me that, whether as participant or observer, immersion means to the African what it does to the Western Christian : something shallow and superficial, if he comes to it superficially and with shallow expectations ; something lasting and deep within, if he comes seeking power and meaning in depth. And specifically? The pride and the power of a public witnessing to the newfound faith ; the satisfaction of crossing the threshold of church membership and the ticket of entrance into close Christian fellowship; the promise of a guaranteed place in the invisible Body of Christ (as far as this has meaning for him); and, especially for the African, the hope – he would probably say "assurance" or "promise" – of the gift of the Holy Spirit with its fresh and renewable power for each day's living.

In the large majority of the African indigenous churches, baptism is by immersion, usually in running water, and frequently three-fold, with the baptizer lowering the body of the candidate into the water after each of the three names of the Trinity. I know of only one exception to the unanimous practice of a single immersion, among the American historic churches, and that is within the Church of the Brethren. Here the minister baptizes the candidate from a kneeling position, forward, pausing after each immersion, and with the blessing for the still kneeling person, after the third.

Sprinkling and effusion are not unknown within the African churches, but most uncommon. Occasionally, also, one finds the complete denial of the validity of water baptism. The Eglise Kimbanguiste in the Congo, recently accepted into full membership of the World Council of Churches, makes no use of water baptism, and only in early 1971 introduced Holy Communion into their worship services. Likewise, the Holy Spirit churches of East Africa find no place for water baptism, substituting the baptism of the Holy Spirit. In conversation, Bartholomew Mate, son of one of the founders of the African Church of the Holy Špirit, and secretary of the Nairobi branch, quoted the familiar words of John the Baptizer from the Fourth Gospel: " 'I (John) baptize you with water for repentance... he (Jesus) will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and fire...' This is our evidence that the day of water baptism is past and that the baptism of the Holy Spirit has succeeded it".

There is still, however, a wide variety of baptismal procedures among the AICs. Distinctively African is the vertical baptism. Here the minister, standing with the candidate in deep water, presses upon the man's head, his knees bent, until the water has closed over his head. I attended such a service held by an African church in Natal's exquisite Valley of a Thousand Hills. It had the intimacy of a family get-together. The women came, bringing their woven mats, which they spread on the bank of grass, talking quietly among themselves until the baptizer and the candidates were prepared to enter the small river, when they began singing softly, the men joining in. The baptizer was a young giant of craggy features, who shepherded his group into deep waters. Each was instructed to bend his knees, when the minister with his right hand .



pressed heavily upon his head, and with his left offered support as the water closed above him. Three times, each time assisting him to rise before the next immersion; then the blessing, the baptizer's hand curled above the candidate's head. The group on the bank continued their singing throughout, in a mood of quiet joy.

Although this form of vertical baptism may be African preference, the problem of finding water of sufficient depth sometimes makes the Western horizontal pattern a physical necessity. I have seen a service where the water scarcity required the candidate to sit on the floor of the creek, his legs spread before him, while the minister lowered his head and shoulders until the whole body lay on the bottom of the stream.

The symbolism of baptism has its attraction for the imaginative African mind, raising questions sometimes of Paul's metaphor of death, burial and resurrection. Burial customs, I am told, vary among the African tribes. Some follow the Western tradition of horizontal burial; others cling to a tradition of burial in an upright foetal position, the arms holding the knees close to the body, the head slightly below the level of the ground. For the former, horizontal baptism more readily suggests death and burial, whereas vertical baptism finds its readier symbolism in the foetal pattern.

Whereas the American immersion is usually gentle, with care for the comfort of the candidate, violence is the keynote of the African celebration. "Why so?" I asked. And the answer was given : "Is not the first birth violent? Does not the mother suffer in labour?" And so in the second birth, through the doorway of baptism, they come with effort

and struggle and violence. Their immersions are usually rapid, with the plunging of the candidate far below the face of the water, the baptismal formula shouted loudly for all to hear. This symbolism is strongly appreciated in ocean baptisms on days when the surf rolls high, and here the violence of the act is accentuated.

Sometimes, if the baptizer is "in the Spirit", or is speaking in tongues, he will pound upon the candidate's head, both in emphasis for his prayer of preparation for the immersion and his post-baptismal blessing. The European will probably need time to become accustomed to these fringe-additions, but the symbolism is dear to the African heart.

Mr. Ebenezer Maqina, founder and leader of the Spiritual Church of South Africa, adds a dramatic touch, in his service of baptism, to the symbolism of death and resurrection. Mr. Maqina himself does no baptizing but stands at the river bank to welcome the candidates as they come from the water and kneel for his blessing. He trains his young ministers to baptize in Western fashion, in a single immersion, using no words until the face of the candidate is lightly covered with water; then, holding him in this position, the baptizer repeats slowly the formula of baptism, "I baptize you in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit", before raising him. Prophet Joseph, founder of the Nigerian Church of St. Joseph, speaks the words before the immersion, but holds the candidate beneath the water for a matter of ten or twelve seconds, "to remind him that death is eternally near and that resurrection is a miracle".

Re-baptism is infrequent among the AICs, except upon special occasions. The Divine Christian Church of Kenya, according to my friend Bishop Ruben Kisargo, forbids it as unbiblical; and many of the African churches would agree. However, the African Catholic Church of South Africa, I am told, expects re-baptism of its members at intervals of two or three years.

The theme of this article is "Joyous Baptism". Joyous baptism depends far less upon the procedure of immersion, assuming the service is well planned and the celebration one of utter sincerity and dignity of search, than upon the climate of the occasion, the high expectations of the candidates, the active participation of the church members and friends, and the ministering baptizer as he serves under the Holy Spirit.

Usually the African members on the bank sing, throughout the immersions, hymns of the church, and the waiting candidates, men and women, young and old, join in, eager for their turn. Sometimes, underneath the singing is the rhythm of the drums; occasionally the threefold Hallelujah, each louder than the last, until on the third cry the drums roar their support and the cymbals climb above the drums. On the many AIC baptisms I have attended within the past decade, there are three I shall remember longest. The first, some years ago, by the side of the wide St. Paul River that runs through the centre of Monrovia, Liberia. The time, some hours after nightfall; the only light the stars, a few candles steadied in the sand, and the rushing glare of the night traffic on the bridge a quarter of a mile away. The group had come in procession from the Church of the Lord (Aladura), walking the two miles. They sang their songs, hymns, folk-songs, as the line of candidates inched forward, and with a slow dancing lilt took their places in the water by the side of the large white cross implanted there. That night they sang the beloved Negro spiritual, perhaps the bequest of some Black missionary:

Come ye to the waters, come ye to the waters,

Come ye to the waters, to be baptized.

Over and over, and their drum softly emphasized the invitation.

The second was at dawn, with the surf of the Atlantic, off the coast of Ghana, running high and noisily. More than four hundred men and women were gathered there in several lines, awaiting baptism. Some fifty or more were the converts of the Saturday night evangelistic service; the others, their own church members invited by their pastor, Brother Lawson, to seek re-baptism "in the name of the Lord Jesus, as Paul urged us in Acts 19: 3-5." (Their earlier baptism had been within the Trinitarian formula at the end of Matthew's Gospel). The singing was drowned by the booming surf.

Young, able, strong-armed Aflah Arman, senior of the young ministers, stood in knee-deep water together with seven ministerial colleagues, each with an assistant, to welcome the candidates. Over and over again and again, "... baptize you in the name of the Lord Jesus", and the violent plunging of the seeker into the roaring, oncoming ocean surf. The experience of "possession", with its irrational behavior, came to a few women, but they were cared for gently, and no special attention was attracted. There was a majesty in the great celebration, a depth of joy that was distant from laughter and humour, yet joy unqualified.

It was on my 1971 visit to Durban, that the third experience came to me. The Bishop and other leaders of the small African Apostolic Faith Church invited me to a series of their special services : foot-washing, Holy Communion, baptism and cleansing. For the last two the church members gathered on a bright Sunday afternoon on that section of the Indian Ocean beach reserved for the exclusive use of the Black African. The Rev. Samson Mhlongo, a dedicated, compassionate young man, cared for the baptisms and the cleansings. Both were without parallel in my experiences within the African independent churches. Seven immersions for baptism : three for the three persons of the Trinity, followed by four more for cleansing, that the individual seeking new life within the Holy Spirit might enter clean. Others came just for the cleansing, not so often for specific sins as for a renewal of the Spirit within, a reaching for spiritual power for the daily life. "Never less than seven immersions for cleansing", Mhlongo had said to me, "nor more than fourteen". And the surf with its roll and its roar kept the count.

And in their own special way, in the marvellous setting of sky and sand and water beauty, peopled by human beings in loyal search for the Supreme God and His abiding, strengthening Spirit, these sacramental services left memories of splendor, of utter self-surrender, of supreme though exotic joy. Here was something the sophisticated Western Christian would never accept for his church, whereas for the African Christian it was eagerly sought and warmly welcomed. It represented strength, power, renewal within – and joy.

"I am clean, clean, clean", one man shouted as he stumbled in exhaustion to the Bishop standing in the shallower water for the blessing. Another, "The Spirit has come... It is within me... mine". And still another, "Joy, joy, joy".

Joy visible, with waving arms and fluttering scarfs. Joy articulate with exultant cries, "Thank you, God" ... "Thank you, Jesus", "Joy... Joy... Joy !" All to the rhythm of rebirth and renewal. Baptism for the African of the independent churches is a joyous, sensuous occasion of rejoicing : "for there is joy..." both in Heaven and within the African heart over one lone individual or over many, who come repentant to the Father seeking power within the Spirit.



...through the African independent Churches to the western Churches

Whether God is speaking something to the Western churches through the African independent churches is an open question. Why He would use the independent churches to speak to the older established churches is also a question which is easy to raise but impossible to answer.

There is so much literature on African independent churches that it is almost redundant to add anything to what has already been written (1). Therefore, a few thoughts will suffice for this article.

1. In his massive study of independent church movements in Africa, Dr. D.B. Barrett comes to the conclusion that "a failure in love" on the part of the missionaries working in Africa is at the root of this continentwide movement (2). If this be the case, then the Western churches that have been responsible for missionary activities in Africa for the past one hundred and fifty years, may be deemed to have come short of the high calling and central obligation in the Christian faith. If they have failed in love overseas, have they necessarily succeeded at home? "Even if I offer myself to go overseas as a missionary and both my home church and I have not enough love, it profits nothing."

⁽¹⁾ See for example, V.E.W. Hayward, ed., African Independent Church Movements, Edinburgh House, London 1963, pp. 84-94;
D.B. Barrett, Schism and Renewal in Africa, Oxford University Press, Nairobi and London 1968, pp. 281 f.

⁽²⁾ Barrett, op. cit., chapter XII, pp. 154 ff.

2. Hitherto it has often been assumed that Christianity is the monopoly of older Christendom, and Western churches have often posed as the sole custodians of the Faith. Through their very existence, the independent churches question this assumption and show that Christianity is flexible enough to be truly catholic (universal). Africa wants to be Christian, but on its own terms, and not on the conditions often laid down by Western churches which have been largely responsible for evangelising African peoples. Thus, independent churches are saying that there are other forms of putting on the Christian faith and of expressing it. Christianity cannot afford to be a stiff, old-fashioned, unchanging form of life which is out of touch with the local environment and current needs.

3. It is claimed by Professor B.G.M. Sundkler, another expert of African independent churches, that the older churches have failed in "personal relationships, especially pastoral care", and that this failure has resulted in the breakaways (3). It would seem that older churches are often so involved in the survival of their own institutional existence that pastoral care is neglected to a more or less great extent. Independent churches do not show the same degree of concern for institutional existence ; they are more actively engaged in practical existence expressed in terms of fellowship, providing identity for their members, and responding to immediate physical and pastoral needs. The baggage of institutionalism and over-organisation seems to tip the balance to the side of excess; some of it is certainly unnecessary for Christian life.

4. The excessively large number of independent churches in Africa is both tragic and comic. There were, in 1968, six thousand religious movements in Africa, of which the majority were independent churches. This focusses on the scandal of division and makes it the more urgent to translate the ecumenical movement into practical terms. Europe and America imported a divided Christianity to our continent; and with few exceptions they have done little to change this divided picture of Christianity. This sin of division in Western Christendom has been propagated and multiplied a thousand times in Africa. If Europe has endorsed it and lived with it for half a millennium, is African Christianity to be expected to perform better than that, especially when the ecumenical movement in Western churches is going at a snail's pace?

5. Certain characteristic features of African independent churches seem to have been lost or neglected in Western churches. Generally speaking independent churches try to integrate the Christian faith into all areas of human life, this being something which has become lost in Western societies where the dichotomy between secular and sacred, physical and spiritual realities has created an unnecessary and perhaps harmful

⁽³⁾ B.G.M. Sundkler, "What is at stake?", in Hayward, op. cit., p. 31.

world-view which excludes religious elements from other forms of human life. Christian healing, divination, respect for the departed, use of prophecy and dreams, are other aspects which feature prominently in the life of independent churches, but which have long been largely neglected in Western churches. One asks : isn't there a profitable place for most of these practices in orthodox Christianity?

6. Independent churches make full and free use of lay ministry and the ministry of women. Indeed many were founded by lay people, and some by women. The question of the ordained ministry is not as much of an obsession in independent churches as it is in Western churches. The talents of individual members are used whenever they are available, and often on a voluntary basis. The gifts of women are utilized more readily in independent churches than in Western churches, where pre-judice against women is still so prevalent in spite of all the nonsense about women's liberation and equality with men.

Obviously the nature of this article has made us focus on one aspect of the independent churches, presenting them as if they were a judgement upon Western churches. This is not my intention, and there are many things that could be levelled against the independent churches, as well as things which they copy and learn from Western churches. There is nowadays a genuine desire on the part of many independent churches to be affiliated with the historical churches on an ecumenical basis. If and when that point is reached, there should be less emphasis on differences and more freedom for the exchange of ideas and experiences for the ultimate good of the Church, the Body of Christ which for two thousand years has continued to suffer from divisions and barriers based on or created by petty differences and human self-interest.

Listen to the Sound

The tongue of my spirit sways This way, that way, To strike the walls of my being And I cry this way; But brother, Listen to the sound--God's shaking the tongue of the bell.

My eyes may not see best This way, that way, To understand the text, That's why I stagger; But brother, Listen to the sound--God's shaking the tongue of the bell.

I know, I may stammer This way, that way, In search of the very word, Then I fumble; But brother, Listen to the sound--God's shaking the tongue of the bell.

God understands it; It's only one tune Even though I be badly tuned; God knows, I don't know how; But brother, Listen to the sound--God's shaking the tongue of the bell.

DAVID MAILU.

Guest editorial group for this issue

Bill Anderson, David Aoko, David Barrett, Peter Kiarie, Bethuel Kiplagat, Victor Lamont, Akafwale Muyale.

Contributors

Victor Lamont. Methodist minister, photographer

David Maillu. Kenyan, graphic artist and folk singer.

Odhiambo Okite. Journalist and editor of Christian newspaper, TARGET.

John Mbiti. Professor of religious studies, Makerere University College, Uganda.

David Aoko. A member of the Institute of Youth and Social Work, Limuru, East Africa

William B. Anderson. Presbyterian missionary and theological college tutor in African church history.

David B. Barrett. Research secretary, Anglican Consultative Council.

M.F. Perrin Jassy (Rott). Sociologist engaged on pastoral issues among The Sukuma, Tanzania.

Donald R. Jacobs. Mennonite bishop and anthropologist.

The Christian churches in the Western and Socialist worlds are under heavy pressures. In many ways Christianity there is declining in influence. But in many parts of the Third World, Christianity is mushrooming in size and influence. The best example of this is Black Africa (south of the Sahara desert), where the Protestant and Catholic churches number over 100 million adherents increasing by 5 million each year. And in Africa, the most outstanding example of the indigenisation of Christianity is the subject of this issue of RISK.... the spontaneous grass-roots flowering of indigenous Christian faith referred to nowadays as the African independent churches movement.

Growth of African independent churches, 1900 - 1970

To get an overall view of the massive expansion of this movement in the 20th century, we give here some figures mainly derived from government population censuses over the years.

	1900	1960	1970
Nations and Colonies involved	7	33	34
African tribes involved	25	260	330
Denominations (Distinct bodies)	150	4,000	5,300
Annual increase in denominations	2	140	185
Adherents (including children)	350,000	6,000,000	10,000,000
Annual increase in Adherents:			
(a) natural population increase	3,500	132,000	250,000
(b) conversions from paganism	13,500	168,000	250,000
Total increase $(a) + (b)$	17,000	300,000	500,000

If you like reading new books...

... then here are five recent ones on our subject, the African independent churches, which will keep you busy for a long time.

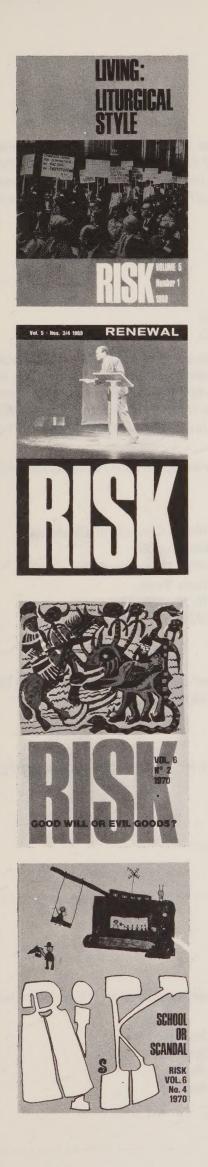
1. R.C. Mitchell and H.W. Turner, *A Bibliography of Modern African Religious Movements* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1966). This is a fascinating survey of 1,319 books, articles, essays, reports, surveys and monographs describing the movement in great detail.

2. F.B. Welbourn and B.A. Ogot, *A Place to Feel at Home: A Study of Two Independent Churches in Western Kenya* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966). A lively verbatim account by an English theologian and an African historian.

3. H.W. Turner, African Independent Church. Vol. I, History of an African Independent Church, the Church of the Lord (Aladura). Vol. II, The Life and Faith of the Church of the Lord (Aladura) (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1967). The most detailed theological study so far of any African independent church.

4. D.B. Barrett, Schism and Renewal in Africa : An Analysis of Six Thousand Contemporary Religious Movements (Nairobi, London and New York : Oxford University Press, 1968). A comprehensive survey and interpretation of the whole African scene.

5. M.L. Daneel, *The Background and Rise of Southern Shona Independent Churches* (The Hague: Mouton, 1971). A very readable and detailed study of Rhodesian independent churches.



Liturgy is far more the stuff of life than most of us realise. And it is certainly a lot more than what goes on in churches. This issue of risk not only analyses some aspects of liturgy as management and celebration, but also includes three recent texts as signs of what can be done. In 1966 risk published an issue on new songs which was followed by an explosion in the field of new church music: could Living: Liturgical Style anticipate a greater renewal in worship?

Renewal is a frequently recurring word in ecumenical conferences and ecclesiastical documents. Yet there seems to be a lot of confusion about what could possibly be meant by renewal. This issue of **risk** includes some stories on renewal in communities as well as some theological commentaries on renewal. The story of the Political Vespers in Cologne, which has begun to attract interest beyond Germany, is told in this issue.

Voluntary service is something many young people are encouraged to undertake. Ecumenical Youth Service has been engaged in the business since 1948. However, too often there are contrary factors involved which end up making voluntary service a counter-service. This issue of risk doesn't shirk the question of this danger in analysing the pros and cons of voluntary service.

Of this issue Development Education, a documentary service of the Freedom from Hunger Campaign, says: "Devoted to a critical analysis of the present traditional school system with particular regard to developing countries... it includes... an interview with Professor Paulo Freire in which he discusses the idea of education being either for the domestication or the liberation of people, and talks about the origins and the continuation of his adult literacy training theory." (Issue 71/1)



Unit on Education and Communication of the World Council of Churches. It inherits the interests of the Youth Department as well as taking up wider issues of renewal. All opinions expressed in the magazine are those of the authors. Only texts cited from official documents of the World Council of Churches can be taken as having its sanction.

Editor: Oscar Bolioli Managing Editor: Rex Davis Art Editors: John Taylor, John Fulton

Subscription rates:Yearly subscription (4 issues)SFr. 10.-US\$ 3.- \pounds 1.00Individual copy:SFr. 3.-US\$ 1.- \pounds 0.30

ISSUES STILL AVAILABLE include Living: Liturgical Style, Renewal, Voluntary Service: Good Will or Evil Goods, School or Scandal and Development Documentation, some case studies in influencing change; Letters from Asia, an issue devoted to some voices from the Asian churches; Just Men Desert, the problem of military desertion and the flight from the ministry; Gladly We Rebel, an issue on the question of women's liberation; Exalt the Humble, an issue devoted to the problem of power and the powerless.

FORTHCOMING ISSUES will deal with the signs and shapes of a new spirituality; the threat and promise of death.

RISK can be ordered from : Publications Office, World Council of Churches, 150, route de Ferney, CH-1211 Geneva 20 Switzerland

Galliard Ltd., Queen Anne's Rd., Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, United Kingdom

World Council of Churches, Room 439, 475, Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 10027 USA

or through your National Council of Churches.

Subscriptions should be sent to Geneva or New York, as above; in the United Kingdom to The Liaison Secretary, World Council of Churches, 10, Eaton Gate, London S.W.1.

MARK WHAT SUITS YOU, TEAR OFF, AND SEND YOUR ORDER TO ONE OF THE ABOVE ADDRESSES.

 Please enter me for a one year's subscription to RISK. 		1.	Please	enter	me	for	а	one	year'	's	subscr	iption	to	RISK.	
--	--	----	--------	-------	----	-----	---	-----	-------	----	--------	--------	----	-------	--

 Please send one year's subscription of RIS 	K at my cost to:
--	------------------

3. Please bill me.

4. I enclose a cheque.

6.

5. Please send to me the following number of copies of earlier issues of RISK (minimum order for 2 copies):

Address

 Living: Liturgical Style Development Documentation Renewal Letters from Asia Voluntary Service: Good Will 	 Just Men Desert School or Scandal Gladly We Rebel Exalt the Humble
or Evil Goods Name	

TABLE OF CONTENTS

What this Issue is All About	11
Children of Jakobo William B. Anderson	14
High Priest David Zakayo Kivuli David Aoko	20
Who's Who of African Independent Church Leaders	22
edited by David Barrett	23
Sunday in Africa	
let's go to Church Donald R. Jacobs	36
The Politics of African	
Church Independency Odhiambo W. Okite	42
Women in the African	
Independent Churches	10
M.F. Perrin Jassy	46
Joyous Baptism among the African	
independent Churches	50
Kenneth J. Brown	50
What God is Saying	
John Mbiti	56

They jump and run with joy Trembling the earth with their feet To embrace the Holy Ghost And crush into powder The head of the devil Upon his domain to plant the flag Of the good news **Upon the soil of Africa.**

Heart-beat tuned with the drum: Tumtumtum tumtum tumtumtumtum, The feet respond to the rhythm And tongues vibrate with the chorus And the blood churns ghee of glee To the good news Upon the soil of Africa.

Their chins roll in the air And the heads swim in a match; Women's breasts scratch the air For the birth of ectasy Then cheers leap from the mouth To tell of the delight Of the good news Upon the soil of Africa.

They embrace and spark Halleluyah As the necks knit with greeting Then the faces take Heavenly touch And the eyes see no more Of the enchanting sky and the mountains Only to smile and engulf To feel and tell of the bride Of the good news Upon the soil of Africa.

DAVID MAILLU.